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THE WORKS OF JOHN MILTON





# THE WORKS OF JOHN MILTON



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EDITED BY DONALD LEMEN CLARK

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FAMILIARIUM EPISTOLARUM  
LIBER UNUS

## Typographus LECTORI.

**F**ACTA spes erat aliquandiu, Lector Benevole, fore ut bujus Authoris Epistolæ cum Publicæ tum Familiares, uno volumine excudendæ mihi permitterentur. Verum de Publicis, postquam eos, per quos solos licebat, certas ob causas id nolle cognovi, concessa parte contentus, Familiares tantum in lucem emittere satis habui. Eas cum aliquanto pauciores esse, quam pro Volumine satis concinno, reperirem; agendum cum Authore per Amicum utrique summum statui, ut, siquid haberet apud se Opusculi forte repositi, ad pensandam vel saltem explendam Epistolarum paucitatem, quasi cumulum adjicere ne gravaretur. Ille hortatoris Authoritate adductus, excussis Chartulis, in hæc forte juvenilia hic illic disjecta tandem incidit, & flagitanti Amico morem gessit. Hæc itaque, cum & commune Amico, cujus in judicio acquievi, satis probata, Authori non pœnitenda videri animadverterem non dubitavi, quantumvis juvenilia, in lucem edere; sperans, quod mea maxime refert, non minus fore mihi vendibilia, quam Auditoribus olim fuerint, cum recitarentur, non injucunda. Vale.

# The Printer to the Reader

(1674)

**W**ITH respect to the public letters, having ascertained that those who alone had the power were for certain reasons averse to their publication, I, content with what I had got, was satisfied with giving to the world the Familiar Letters by themselves. When I found these Familiar Letters to be somewhat too scanty for a volume even of limited size, I resolved to treat with the author through a particular friend of both of us, in order that, if he chanced to have by him any little matter in the shape of a treatise, he might not grudge throwing it in, as a makeweight, to counterbalance the paucity of the Letters, or at least occupy the blank. He, influenced by the adviser, having turned over his papers, at last fell upon the accompanying juvenile compositions, scattered about, some here and others there, and, at my friend's earnest request, made them over to his discretion. These, therefore, when I perceived that, as they were sufficiently approved of by the common friend in whom I trusted, so the author did not seem to think he ought to be ashamed of them, I have not hesitated, juvenile as they are, to give to the light; hoping, as it is very much my interest to do, that they will be found not less vendible by me than originally, when they were recited, they were agreeable to their auditors.

# Joannis Miltonii Angli, Familiarium Epistolarum Liber unus.

---

Thomæ Junio *Præceptor* suo.

**Q**UANQUAM statueram apud me (Præceptor optime) Epistolium quoddam numeris metricis elucubratum ad te dare, non satis tamen habuisse me existimavi, nisi aliud insuper soluto stylo exarassem; in-  
5 credibilis enim illa & singularis animi mei gratitudo, quam tua ex debito vendicant in me merita, non constricto illo, & certis pedibus ac syllabis angustato dicendi genere experimenda fuit, sed Oratione liberâ, immo potius, si fieri posset, Asiaticâ verborum exuberantiâ. Quamvis quidem satis ex-  
10 primere quantum tibi debeam, opus sit meis viribus longe majus, etiamsi omnes quoscunque Aristoteles, quoscunque Parisiensis ille Dialecticus conguessit Argumentorum τόπους exinanirem, etiamsi omnes elocutionis fonticulos exhaurirem. Quereris tu vero (quod merito potes) literas meas raras ad-  
15 modum & perbrevis ad te delatas esse; ego vero non tam doleo me adeo jucundo, adeoque expetendo defuisse officio, quam gaudeo & pene exulto eum me in amicitia tua tenere locum, qui possit crebras à me Epistolas efflagitare. Quod autem hoc plusquam triennio nunquam ad te scripserim, quæso ut ne in  
20 pejus trahas, sed pro mirifica ista tua facilitate & candore, in

# The Familiar Letters of *John Milton*, Englishman

---

## 1. *To THOMAS YOUNG, His Preceptor*

Although I had resolved with myself, most excellent Preceptor, to send you a certain small epistle composed in metrical numbers, yet I did not consider that I had done enough unless I wrote also another in prose; for the boundless and singular  
5 gratitude of mind which your deserts justly claim from me was not to be expressed in that cramped mode of speech, straitened by fixed feet and syllables, but in a free oration, or rather, were it possible, in an Asiatic exuberance of words. Albeit, in truth, to express sufficiently how much I owe you  
10 were a work far greater than my strength, even if I should ransack all those hoards of arguments which Aristotle or which that Dialectician of Paris has amassed, or even if I should exhaust all the fountains of oratory. You complain, indeed, as justly you may, that my letters to you have been as  
15 yet few and very short; but I, on the other hand, do not so much grieve that I have been remiss in a duty so pleasant and so enviable as I rejoice, and all but exult, at holding such a place in your friendship that you should care to ask for frequent letters from me. That I should never have written  
20 to you for now more than three years, however, I pray you will not interpret to my discredit, but, in accordance with your wonderful indulgence and candour, view with a chari-



mitiorem partem interpretari digneris. Deum enim testor  
 quam te instar Patris colam, quam singulari etiam observantiâ  
 te semper persecutus sim, quamque veritus chartis meis tibi  
 obstrepere. Curo nempe cum primis, cum Tabellas meas nihil  
 5 aliud commendet, ut commendet raritas. Deinde, cum ex  
 vehementissimo, quo tui afficior desiderio, adesse te semper  
 cogitem, teque tanquam præsentem alloquar & intuear, dolo-  
 rique meo (quod in amore fere fit) vanâ quâdam præsentia  
 tuæ imaginatione adblandiar; vereor profecto, simulac literas  
 10 ad te mittendas meditarer, ne in mentem mihi subito veniret,  
 quam longinquo à me distes terrarum intervallo; atque ita  
 recrudesceret dolor absentia tuæ jam prope consopitus, som-  
 niûmque dulce discuteret. Biblia Hebræa, pergratum sane  
 munus tuum, jampridem accepi. Hæc scripsi Londini inter  
 15 urbana diverticula, non Libris, ut soleo, circumseptus: Si quid  
 igitur in hac Epistola minus arriserit, tuamque frustrabitur  
 expectationem, pensabitur aliâ magis elaboratâ; ubi primum  
 ad Musarum spatia rediero.

*Londino, Martii 26. 1625.*

---

*Alexandro Gillio.*

20 2. ACCEPI Literas tuas, & quæ me mirifice oblectavêre,  
 Carmina sane grandia, & Majestatem vere Poeticam, Virgi-

table construction. For I call God to witness how much in the light of a Father I regard you, with what singular devotion I have always followed you in thought, and how I feared to trouble you with my writings. My first care, I suppose, is that, 5 since there is nothing else to commend my letters, their rarity may commend them. Next, as that most vehement desire after you which I feel makes me always fancy you with me, and speak to you and behold you as if you were present, and so (as generally happens in love) soothe my grief by a certain 10 vain imagination of your presence, it is in truth my fear that, as soon as I should meditate a letter to be sent you, it should suddenly come into my mind by what an interval of earth you are distant from me, and so the grief of your absence, already nearly lulled, should grow fresh, and break up my sweet 15 dream. The Hebrew Bible, your truly most acceptable gift, I received some time since. These lines I have written in London amid city distractions, and not, as usual, surrounded by books: if, therefore, anything in this epistle shall please you less than might be, and disappoint your expectation, it shall be 20 made up for by another more elaborate one as soon as I have returned to the haunts of the Muses.

London, March 26, 1625.

---

## 2. *To ALEXANDER GILL*

I received your letter, and, what wonderfully delighted me, your truly great verses, breathing everywhere a genuine poeti- 25 cal majesty and a Virgilian genius. I knew, indeed, how

lianumque ubique ingenium redolentia. Sciebam equidem  
 quam tibi tuoque genio impossibile futurum esset, à rebus  
 Poeticis avocare animum, & furores illos cælius instinctos,  
 sacrûmque & æthereum ignem intimo pectore eluere, cum tua  
 5 (quod de seipso Claudianus) — *Totum spirent Præcordia*  
*Phæbum*. Itaque si tua tibi ipse promissa fefelleris, laudo hîc  
 tuam (quod ais) inconstantiam, laudo, siqua est, improbita-  
 tem; me autem tam præclari Poematis arbitrum à te factum  
 esse, non minus gloriôr, & honori mihi duco, quam si certantes  
 10 ipsi Dii Musici ad meum venissent iudicium; quod Tmolo  
 Lydii montis Deo populari olim contigisse fabulantur. Ne-  
 scio sane an Henrico Nassovio plus gratuler de urbe capta, an  
 de tuis Carminibus: nihil enim existimo victoriam hanc pepe-  
 risse Poematio hoc tuo illustrius, aut celebrius. Te vero, cum  
 15 prosperos sociorum successus tam sonorâ triumphalique tubâ  
 canere audiamus, quantum vatem sperabimus, si forte res  
 nostræ demum feliciores tuas Musas poscant Gratulatrices.  
 Vale Vir Erudite, summasque à me tibi gratias Carminum  
 tuorum nomine haberi scias.

---

*Eidem.*

3. PRIORI illâ Epistola meâ non tam rescripsi tibi, quam  
 rescribendi vices deprecatus sum, alteram itaque brevi secu-

impossible it would be for you and your genius to keep away from poetry and rid the depths of your breast of those heaven-inspired furies and that sacred and ethereal fire, since of your life (as Claudian says of his) Phoebus is the whole breath.

5 Therefore, if you have broken the promises made to yourself, I here praise your (as you call it) inconstancy; I praise the sin, if there be any; and that I should have been made by you the judge of so excellent a poem I no less glory in and regard as an honour than if the contending musical gods themselves had

10 come to me for judgment, as they fable happened of old to Tmolus, the popular god of the Lydian mountain. I know not truly whether I should more congratulate Henry of Nassau on the capture of the city or on your verses; for I think the victory he has obtained nothing more illustrious or more

15 celebrated than this poetical tribute of yours. But, as we hear you sing the prosperous successes of the Allies in so sonorous and triumphal a strain, how great a poet we shall hope to have in you if by chance our own affairs, turning at last more fortunate, should demand your congratulatory muses! Farewell,

20 learned Sir, and believe that you have my best thanks for your verses.

London, May 20, 1628.

---

### 3. *To* ALEXANDER GILL

In my former letter I did not so much reply to you as stave off my turn of replying. I silently promised with myself,

25 therefore, that another letter should soon follow, in which I

turam tacite promisi, in qua tibi me amicissime provocanti  
latius aliquanto responderem; verum ut id non essem polli-  
citus, hanc utcunque summo jure deberi tibi fatendum est,  
quandoquidem singulas ego literas tuas non nisi meis binis  
5 pensari posse existimem, aut si exactius agatur, ne centenis  
quidem meis. Negotium illud de quo scripsi subobscurius,  
ecce Tabellis hisce involutum, in quo ego, cum tua ad me  
pervenit Epistola, districtus temporis angustia, magno tum  
primùm opere desudabam: quidam enim Ædium nostrarum  
10 Socius, qui Comitibus his Academicis in Disputatione Philo-  
sophicâ responsurus erat, Carmina super quæstionibus pro  
more annuo componenda, prætervectus ipse jamdiu leviculas  
illiusmodi nugas, & rebus seriis intentior, forte meæ Puerili-  
tati commisit. Hæc quidem Typis donata ad te misi, utpote  
15 quem nôrim rerum Poeticarum judicem acerrimum, & me-  
arum candidissimum. Quod si tua mihi vicissim commu-  
nicare dignaberis, certe non erit qui magis iis delectetur, erit,  
fateor, qui rectius pro eorum dignitate judicet. Equidem  
quoties recolo apud me tua mecum assidua pene colloquia  
20 (quæ vel ipsis Athenis, ipsâ in Academiâ, quæro, desidero-  
que) cogito statim nec sine dolore, quanto fructu me mea

should answer somewhat more at large to your most friendly challenge; but, even if I had not promised this, it must be confessed on the highest grounds of right to be your due, inasmuch as I consider that each single letter of yours cannot  
5 be balanced by less than two of mine,—nay, if the account were more strict, not by even a hundred of mine. The matter respecting which I wrote to you rather obscurely you will find contained and expanded in the accompanying sheets. I was labouring upon it with all my might when your letter came,  
10 being straitened by the shortness of the time allowed me: for a certain Fellow of our College who had to act as Respondent in the philosophical disputation in this Commencement chanced to entrust to my puerility the composition of the verses which annual custom requires to be written on the questions in dispute, being himself already long past the age for trifles of that  
15 sort, and more intent on serious things. The result, committed to type, I have sent to you, as to one whom I know to be a very severe judge in poetical matters, and a very candid critic of my productions. If you shall deign to let me have a sight of your  
20 verses in return, there will assuredly be no one who will more delight in them, though there may be, I admit, who will more rightly judge of them according to their worth. Indeed, every time I recollect your almost constant conversations with me (which even in this Athens, the University itself, I long after  
25 and miss), I think immediately, and not without grief, what a quantity of benefit my absence from you has cheated me of,—me, who never left your company without a manifest increase and growth of literary knowledge, just as if I had

fraudârit absentia, qui nunquam à te discessi sine manifesta  
 Literarum accessione, & ἐπιδόσει, plane quasi ad Emporium  
 quoddam Eruditionis profectus. Sane apud nos, quod sciam,  
 vix unus atque alter est, qui non Philologiæ, pariter & Phi-  
 5 losophiæ, prope rudis & profanus, ad Theologiam devolet  
 implumis; eam quoque leviter admodum attingere conten-  
 tus, quantum forte sufficiat conciunculæ quoquo modo con-  
 glutinandæ, & tanquam tritis aliunde pannis consuendæ:  
 adeo ut verendum sit ne sensim ingruat in Clerum nostrum  
 10 sacerdotalis illa superioris sæculi Ignorantia. Atque ego pro-  
 fecto cum nullos fere studiorum consortes hic reperiam,  
 Londinum rectà respicerem, nisi per justitium hoc æstivum  
 in otium alte Literarium recedere cogitarem, & quasi Clau-  
 stris Musarum delitescere. Quod cum jam tu indies facias,  
 15 nefas esse propemodum existimo diutius in præsentia tibi  
 interstrepere. Vale.

*Cantabrigia, July 2. 1628.*

*Thomæ Junio.*

4. INSPECTIS Literis tuis (Præceptor optime) unicum hoc  
 mihi supervacaneum occurrebat, quòd tardæ scriptio-  
 20 cusationem attuleris; tametsi enim Literis tuis nihil mihi  
 queat optabilius accidere, quàm possim tamen, aut debeam  
 sperare, otii tibi tantum à rebus seriis, & sanctoribus esse, ut  
 mihi semper respondere vacet; præsertim cum illud humani-  
 tatis omnino sit, officii minime. Te vero oblitum esse mei

been to some emporium of learning. Truly, amongst us here, as far as I know, there are hardly one or two that do not fly off unfeathered to Theology while all but rude and uninitiated in either Philology or Philosophy,—content also with the slightest possible touch of Theology itself, just as much as may suffice for sticking together a little sermon anyhow, and stitching it over with worn patches obtained promiscuously: a fact giving reason for the dread that by degrees there may break in among our clergy the priestly ignorance of a former  
10 age. For myself, finding almost no real companions in study here, I should certainly be looking straight back to London, were I not meditating a retirement during this summer vacation into a deeply literary leisure, and a period of hiding, so to speak, in the bowers of the Muses. But, as this is your own  
15 daily practice, I think it almost a crime to interrupt you longer with my din at present. Farewell.

Cambridge, July 2, 1628.

---

#### 4. *To* THOMAS YOUNG

On looking at your letter, most excellent preceptor, this alone struck me as superfluous, that you excused your slowness  
20 in writing; for, though nothing could be more welcome to me than your letters, how could I or ought I to hope that you should have so much leisure from serious and more sacred affairs as to have time always to answer me, especially as that is a matter entirely of kindness, and not at all of duty? That  
25 I should suspect that you had forgotten me, however, your so



ut suspicer, tam multa tua de me recens merita nequaquam  
 sinunt. Neque enim video quorsum tantis onustum bene-  
 ficiis ad oblivionem dimitteres. Rus tuum accersitus, simul  
 ac Ver adoleverit, libenter adveniam, ad capessendas anni,  
 5 tuique non minus colloquii, delicias; & ab urbano strepitu  
 subducam me paulisper, Stoam tuam Icenorum, tanquam  
 ad celeberrimam illam Zenonis porticum, aut Ciceronis Tus-  
 culanum, ubi tu in re modica regio sane animo veluti Ser-  
 ranus aliquis aut Curius, in agello tuo placide regnas, deque  
 10 ipsis divitiis, ambitione, pompâ, luxuriâ, & quicquid vulgus  
 hominum miratur & stupet, quasi triumphum agis fortunæ  
 contemptor. Cæterum qui tarditatis culpam deprecatus es,  
 hanc mihi vicissim, ut spero, præcipitantiam indulgebis; cum  
 enim Epistolam hanc in extremum distulissem, malui pauca,  
 15 eâque rudiuscule scribere, quam nihil. Vale Vir Observande.

*Cantabrigia, July 21. 1628.*

*Alexandro Gillio.*

5. SI mihi Aurum, aut cælata pretiose vasa, aut quicquid  
 istiusmodi mirantur Mortales, dono dedisses, puderet certe  
 non vicissim, quantum ex meis facultatibus suppeteret, te  
 20 aliquando remunerasse. Cum vero tam lepidum nobis, &  
 venustum Hendecasyllabon nudiustertius donaveris, quanto

many recent kindnesses to me by no means allow. I do not see, either, how you could dismiss into oblivion one laden with so great benefits by you. Having been invited to your part of the country, as soon as spring is a little advanced, I will gladly  
5 come, to enjoy the delights of the season, and not less of your conversation, and will withdraw myself from the din of town for a while to your Stoa of the Icenî, as to that most celebrated Porch of Zeno or the Tusculan Villa of Cicero, where you, with moderate means but regal spirit, like some Serranus or  
10 Curius, placidly reign in your little farm, and, contemning fortune, hold as it were a triumph over riches, ambition, pomp, luxury, and whatever the herd of men admire and are amazed by. But, as you have deprecated the blame of slowness, you will also in turn, I hope, pardon me the fault of haste; for,  
15 having put off this letter to the last, I have preferred writing little, and that in a rather slovenly manner, to not writing at all. Farewell, much to be respected Sir.

Cambridge, July 21, 1628.

---

#### 5. *To ALEXANDER GILL*

If you had presented to me a gift of gold, or of precious  
20 embossed vases, or whatever of that sort mortals admire, it were certainly to my shame not to have some time or other made you a remuneration in return, as far as my faculties might serve. Your gift of the day before yesterday, however, having been such a sprightly and elegant set of Hendecasyll-  
25 labics, you have, just in proportion to the superiority of that

- charius quidem Auro illud est merito, tanto nos reddidisti magis sollicitos, quâ re conquisitâ tam jucundi beneficii gratiam rependeremus; erant quidem ad manum nostra hoc in genere nonnulla, sed quæ tuis in certamen muneris æquale  
5 nullo modo mittenda censerem. Mitto itaque quod non plane meum est, sed & vatis etiam illius vere divini, cujus hanc Oden alterâ ætatis septimanâ, nullo certe animi proposito, sed subito nescio quo impetu ante lucis exortum, ad Græci carminis Heroici legem in lectulo fere concinnabam:  
10 ut hoc scilicet innixus adjutore qui te non minus argumento superat, quam tu me artificio vincis, haberem aliquid, quod ad æquilibrium compensationis accedere videatur; si quid occurrit, quod tuæ de nostris, ut soles, opinioni minus satisfecerit, scias, ex quo ludum vestrum reliquerim hoc me uni-  
15 cum atque primum græce composuisse, in Latinis, ut nosti, Anglicisque libentius versatum. Quandoquidem qui Græcis componendis hoc sæculo studium atque operam impendit, periculum est, ne plerumque surdo canat. Vale, meque Die Lunæ Londini (si Deus voluerit) inter Bibliopolas expecta.  
20 Interim si quid apud illum Doctorem, annum Collegii Præsidem, quâ vales amicitia, nostrum poteris negotium promovere; cura quæso, ut meâ causâ quam cito adeas; iterum Vale.

*E nostro Suburbano, Decemb. 4. 1634.*

gift to anything in the form of gold, made us the more anxious to find some dainty means by which to repay the kindness of so pleasant a favour. We had, indeed, at hand some things of our own of this same kind, but such as I could nowise deem  
5 fit to be sent in contest of equality of gift with yours. I send, therefore, what is not exactly mine, but belongs also to the truly divine poet, this ode of whom, only last week, with no deliberate intention certainly, but from I know not what sudden impulse before daybreak, I adapted, almost in bed,  
10 to the rule of Greek heroic verse: with the effect, it seems, that, relying on this coadjutor, who surpasses you no less in his subject than you surpass me in art, I should have something that might have a resemblance of approach to a balancing of accounts. Should anything meet you in it not coming  
15 up to your usual opinion of our productions, understand that, since I left your school, this is the first and only thing I have composed in Greek,—employing myself, as you know, more willingly in Latin and English matters; inasmuch as whoever spends study and pains in this age on Greek composition  
20 runs a risk of singing mostly to the deaf. Farewell, and expect me on Monday (if God will) in London among the booksellers. Meanwhile, if with such influence of friendship as you have with that Doctor, the annual President of the College, you can anything promote our business, take the  
25 trouble, I pray, to go to him as soon as possible in my behalf. Again, farewell.

From our suburban residence, Decemb. 4, 1634.

*Carolo Diodato.*

6. JAM istuc demum plane video te agere, ut obstinato  
 silentio nos aliquando pervincas; quod si ita est, euge habe  
 tibi istam gloriolam, en scribimus priores: quanquam certe  
 si unquam hæc res in contentionem veniret, cur neuter alteri  
 5 οὕτω δία χρόνου scripserit, cave putes quin sim ego multis  
 partibus excusator futurus: δῆλον ὅτι ὡς βραδὺς καὶ ἀκνηρὸς τις  
 ὢν φύσει πρὸς τὸ γράφειν, ut probe nôsti, cum tu contra sive  
 naturâ, sive consuetudine, ad hujusmodi Literarias προσφω-  
 νήσεις haud ægre perducere soleas. Simul & illud pro me facit,  
 10 quod tuam studendi rationem ita institutam cognovi, ut cre-  
 bro interspires, ad amicos visas, multa scribas, nonnunquam  
 iter facias; meum sic est ingenium, nulla ut mora, nulla  
 quies, nulla ferme ullius rei cura, aut cogitatio distineat,  
 quoad pervadam quo feror, & grandem aliquam studiorum  
 15 meorum quasi periodum conficiam. Atque hinc omnino,  
 nec aliunde, sodes, est factum, uti ad officia quidem ultro  
 deferenda spissius accedam, ad respondendum tamen, O  
 noster Theodote non sum adeo cessator; neque enim com-  
 misi ut tuam Epistolam unquam ullam debitâ vice nostra  
 20 alia ne clauserit. Quid! quod tu, ut audio, Literas ad Biblio-  
 polam, ad Fratrem etiam sæpiuscule; quorum utervis prop-  
 ter vicinitatem satis commode præstitisset, mihi, si quæ es-

6. *To CHARLES DIODATI*

Now at length I see plainly that what you are driving at is to vanquish me sometimes in the art of obstinate silence; and, if it is so, bravo! have that little glory over us, for behold! we write first. All the same, if ever the question should come  
5 into contention why neither has written to the other for so long, do not think but that I shall stand by many degrees the more excused of the two,—manifestly so indeed, as being one by nature slow and lazy to write, as you well know; while you, on the other hand, whether by nature or by habit, are  
10 wont without difficulty to be drawn into epistolary correspondence of this sort. It makes also for my favour that I know your method of studying to be so arranged that you frequently take breath in the middle, visit your friends, write much, sometimes make a journey, whereas my genius is such  
15 that no delay, no rest, no care or thought almost of anything, holds me aside until I reach the end I am making for, and round off, as it were, some great period of my studies. Wholly hence, and not from any other cause, believe me, has it happened that I am slower in approaching the voluntary discharge of good offices; but in replying to such, O our Theodotus, I am not so very dilatory; nor have I ever been guilty  
20 of not meeting any letter of yours by one of mine in due turn. How happens it that, as I hear, you have sent letters to the bookseller, to your brother too not unfrequently, either of  
25 whom could, conveniently enough, on account of their nearness, have caused letters to have been delivered to me, if there

sent, reddendas. Illud vero queror, te, cum esses pollicitus, ad nos fore ut diverteres cum ex urbe discederes, promissis non stetisse: quæ promissa abs te præterita si vel semel cogitasses, non defuisset prope necessarium scribendi argumentum. Atque hæc habui quæ in te merito, ut mihi videor, declamitarem. Tu quæ ad hæc contra parabis ipse videris. Verum interim quid est quæso? rectene vales? ecquinam iis in locis erudituli sunt quibuscum libenter esse, & garrire possis, ut nos consuevimus? quando redis? quamdiu tibi in animo est apud istos *ὑπερβορείους* commorari? tu velim ad hæc mihi singula respondeas: sed enim ne nescias non nunc demum res tuæ cordi mihi sunt, nam sic habeto me ineunte autumno ex itinere ad fratrem tuum eo consilio deflexisse, ut quid ageres, scirem. Nuper etiam cum mihi temere Londini perlatum esset à nescio quo te in urbe esse, confestim & quasi *αὐτοβοεῖ* proripui me ad cellam tuam, at illud *σκίας ὄναρ*, nusquam enim compares. Quare quod sine tuo incommodo fiat, advola ocyus & aliquo in loco te siste, qui locus mitiorem spem præbeat, posse quoquo modo fieri ut aliquoties inter nos saltem visamus, quod utinam nobis non aliter esses vicinus, rusticanus atque es urbicus, *ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ὥσπερ θεῶ φίλον*.

had been any? What I complain of, however, is that, whereas you promised that you would take up your quarters with us for a passing visit on your departure from the city, you did not keep your promise, and that, if you had but once thought  
5 of this neglect of your promise, there would not have been wanting necessary occasion enough for writing. All this matter of deserved lecture, as I imagine, I have been keeping against you. What you will prepare in answer see for yourself. But, meanwhile, how is it with you, pray? Are you all  
10 right in health? Are there in those parts any smallish learned folks with whom you can willingly associate and chat, as we were wont together? When do you return? How long do you intend to remain among those hyperboreans? Please to answer me these questions one by one: not that you are to  
15 make the mistake of supposing that only now have I your affairs at heart,—for understand that, in the beginning of the autumn, I turned out of my way on a journey to see your brother for the purpose of knowing what you were doing. Lately also, when it had been fallaciously reported to me in  
20 London by some one that you were in town, straightway and as if by storm I dashed to your crib; but 'twas the vision of a shadow! for nowhere did you appear. Wherefore, if you can without inconvenience, fly hither all the sooner, and fix yourself in some place so situated that I may have a more pleasant  
25 hope that somehow or other we may be able at least sometimes to exchange visits,—though I would you were as much our neighbour in the country as you are when in town. But this as it pleases God! I would say more about myself and my



Plura vellem & de nobis, & de studiis nostris, sed mallet coram; & jam cras sumus rus illud nostrum redituri, urgetque iter, ut vix hæc propere in chartam conjecerim. Vale.

*Londino, Septemb. 2. 1637.*

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*Eidem.*

- 5 7. Quod cæteri in Literis suis plerunque faciunt amici, ut unicam tantum salutem dicere sat habeant, tu illud jam video quid sit quod toties impertias; ad ea enim quæ tute prius, & alii adhuc sola afferre possunt vota, jam nunc artem insuper tuam, vimque omnem medicam quasi cumulum ac-  
10 cedere vis me scilicet intelligere. Jubes enim salvere sexcenties, quantum volo, quantum possum, vel etiam amplius. Næ ipsum te nuper Salutis condum promum esse factum oportet, ita totum salubritatis penum dilapidas, aut ipsa proculdubio sanitas jam tua Parasita esse debet, sic pro Rege te  
15 geris atque imperas ut dicto sit audiens; itaque gratulor tibi, & duplici proinde nomine gratias tibi agam necesse est, cum amicitia tum artis eximia. Literas quidem tuas, quoniam ita convenerat, diu expectabam; verum acceptis neque dum

studies, but would rather do so when we meet; and now tomorrow we are to return to that country-residence of ours, and the journey so presses that I have hardly had time to put all this on the paper. Farewell.

5 London: Septemb. 2, 1637.

7. *To CHARLES DIODATI*

While other friends generally in their letters think it enough to express a single wish for one's health, I see now how it is that you convey the same salutation so many times; for to those mere wishes on the subject which were all that  
10 you yourself could in former times offer, and which are all that others have to offer yet, you would now have me understand, I suppose, that there is the gigantic addition of your art and all the force of your medical practitionership. You bid me be well six hundred times, well as I wish to be, well as I  
15 can be, and so forth even more superlatively. Verily you must have lately been made the very steward of the larder, the clerk of the kitchen, to Health, such havoc you make of the whole store of salubrity; or, doubtless, Health ought now to be your parasite, you so act the king over her and command her to be  
20 obedient. I therefore congratulate you, and find it consequently necessary to return you thanks on a double account,—your friendship, for one thing, and your excellence in your profession for another. I did indeed, since it had been so agreed, long expect letters from you; but, having never re-  
25 ceived any, I did not, believe me, on that account suffer my

ullis, si quid mihi credis, non idcirco veterem meam erga te benevolentiam tantillum refrigescere sum passus; immo vero quâ tarditatis excusatione usus Literarum initio es, ipsam illam te allaturum esse jam animo præsenseram, idque  
5 recte, nostræque necessitudini convenienter. Non enim in Epistolarum ac Salutationum momentis veram verti amicitiam volo, quæ omnia ficta esse possunt; sed altis animi radicibus niti utrinque & sustinere se; cœptamque sinceris, & sanctis rationibus, etiamsi mutua cessarent officia, per  
10 omnem tamen vitam suspicione & culpâ vacare: ad quam fovendam non tam scripto sit opus, quam vivâ invicem virtutum recordatione. Nec continuò, ut tu non scripseris, non erit quo illud suppleri officium possit, scribit vicem tuam apud me tua probitas, verasque literas intimis, sensibus meis  
15 exarat, scribit morum simplicitas, & recti amor; scribit ingenium etiam tuum, haudquaquam quotidianum, & majorem in modum te mihi commendat. Quare noli mihi, arcem illam Medicinæ tyrannicam nactus, terrores istos ostentare, ac si salutes tuas sexcentas velles, subductâ minutim ratiunculâ, ad unam omnes à me reposcere, si forte ego, quod ne  
20 siverit unquam Deus, amicitia desertor fierem; atque amove terribile illud ἐπιείχισμα quod cervicibus nostris videris imposuisse, ut sine tua bona venia ne liceat ægrotare. Ego enim ne nimis minitêre, tui similes impossible est quin amem, nam

old good-will to you to cool in the least; nay, that very excuse for your delay which you have employed in the beginning of your letter I had anticipated in my own mind you would offer, and that rightly and in accordance with our relations to  
5 each other. For I would not have true friendship turn on balances of letters and salutations, all which may be false, but that it should rest on both sides in the deep roots of the mind and sustain itself there, and that, once begun on sincere and sacred grounds, it should, though mutual good offices should  
10 cease, yet be free from suspicion and blame all life long. For fostering such a friendship as this what is wanted is not so much written correspondence as a loving recollection of virtues on both sides. Nor, even should you have persisted in not writing, would there be lack of means with me for supplying  
15 that good office. Your probity writes for me in your stead, and inscribes true letters on my inmost consciousness, your frank innocence of character writes to me, and your love of the good; your genius also, by no means an every-day one, writes to me and commends you to me more and more. Don't,  
20 therefore, now that you have possessed yourself of that tyrannic citadel of Medicine, wave those terrors before me, as if you meant to draw in bit by bit, and to demand back from me your six hundred healths till only one was left, if by chance (which God forbid) I should become a traitor to friendship.  
25 Remove that terrible battery which you seem to have planted right at me in your resolution that it shall not be lawful for me to get ill without your good leave. For, lest you should threaten too much, know that it is impossible for me not to

de cætero quidem quid de me statuerit Deus nescio, illud certe; *δεινὸν μοι ἔρωτα, εἰπέρ τω ἄλλω, τοῦ καλοῦ ἐνεστέλλε*. Nec tanto Ceres labore, ut in Fabulis est, Liberam fertur quæsis-  
visse filiam, quanto ego hanc *τοῦ καλοῦ ιδέα*n, veluti pulcher-  
5 rimam quandam imaginem, per omnes rerum formas & facies: (*πολλὰ γὰρ μορφαὶ τῶν Δαιμονίων*) dies noctesque inda-  
gare soleo, & quasi certis quibusdam vestigiis ducentem sec-  
tor. Unde fit, ut qui, spretis quæ vulgus pravâ rerum æsti-  
matione opinatur, id sentire & loqui & esse audet; quod  
10 summa per omne ævum sapientia optimum esse docuit, illi me protinus, sicubi reperiam, necessitate quâdam adjungam.  
Quod si ego sive naturâ, sive meo fato ita sum comparatus, ut nullâ contentione, & laboribus meis ad tale decus & fas-  
tigium laudis ipse valeam emergere; tamen quo minus qui  
15 eam gloriam assecuti sunt, aut eo feliciter aspirant, illos semper colam, & suspiciam, nec Dii puto, nec homines prohiberint. Cæterum jam curiositati tuæ vis esse satisfactum scio. Multa solícite quæris, etiam quid cogitem. Audi, Theodote, verum in aurem ut ne rubeam, & sinito paulisper apud  
20 te grandia loquar; quid cogitem quæris? ita me bonus Deus, immortalitatem. Quid agam vero? *πτεροφυῶ*, & volare medi-  
tor: sed tenellis admodum adhuc pennis evehit se noster Pegasus, humile sapiamus. Dicam jam nunc serio quid

love men like you. What besides God has resolved concerning me I know not, but this at least: He has instilled into me, if into any one, a vehement love of the beautiful. Not with so much labour, as the fables have it, is Ceres said to have sought  
5 her daughter Proserpina as it is my habit day and night to seek for this idea of the beautiful, as for a certain image of supreme beauty, through all the forms and faces of things (for many are the shapes of things divine) and to follow it as it leads me on by some sure traces which I seem to recog-  
10 nize. Hence it is that, when any one scorns what the vulgar opine in their depraved estimation of things, and dares to feel and speak and be that which the highest wisdom throughout all ages has taught to be best, to that man I attach myself forthwith by a kind of real necessity, wherever I find him.  
15 If, whether by nature or by my fate, I am so circumstanced that by no effort and labour of mine can I myself rise to such an honour and elevation, yet that I should always worship and look up to those who have attained that glory, or happily aspire to it, neither gods nor men, I reckon, have bidden nay.  
20 But now I know you wish to have your curiosity satisfied. You make many anxious inquiries, even as to what I am at present thinking of. Hearken, Theodotus, but let it be in your private ear, lest I blush; and allow me for a little to use big language with you. You ask what I am thinking of? So may  
25 the good Deity help me, of immortality! And what am I doing? Growing my wings and meditating flight; but as yet our Pegasus raises himself on very tender pinions. Let us be lowly wise!

- cogitem, in hospitium Juridicorum aliquod immigrare, sicubi amœna & umbrosa ambulatio est, quod & inter aliquot sodales, commodior illic habitatio, si domi manere, & ὁρμητήριον εὐπρεπέστερον quocunque libitum erit excurrere;
- 5 ubi nunc sum, ut nosti, obscure, & anguste sum; de studiis etiam nostris fies certior. Græcorum res continuatâ lectione deduximus usquequo illi Græci esse sunt desiti: Italorum in obscura re diu versati sumus sub Longobardis, & Francis, & Germanis, ad illud tempus quo illis ab Rodolpho Germaniæ
- 10 Rege concessa libertas est; exinde quid quæque Civitas suo Marte gesserit, separatim legere præstabit. Tu vero quid? quousque rebus domesticis filius-familias imminebis urbanarum sodalitatum oblitus? quod, nisi bellum hoc novercale, vel Dacico, vel Sarmatico infestius sit, debebis profecto ma-
- 15 turare, ut ad nos saltem in hyberna concedas. Interim, quod sine tua molestia fiat, Justinianum mihi Venetorum Historicum rogo mittas; ego meâ fide aut in adventum tuum probe asservatum curabo; aut, si mavis, haud ita multo post ad te remissum. Vale.

*Londino, Septemb. 23, 1637.*

I will now tell you seriously what I am thinking of. I am thinking of migrating into some Inn of the Lawyers where I can find a pleasant and shady walking-ground, because there I shall have both a more convenient habitation among  
5 a number of companions if I wish to remain at home, and more suitable headquarters if I choose to make excursions in any direction. Where I am now, as you know, I live obscurely and in a cramped manner. You shall also have information respecting my studies. I have by continuous reading brought  
10 down the affairs of the Greeks as far as to the time when they ceased to be Greeks. I have been long engaged in the obscure business of the state of Italians under the Longobards, the Franks, and the Germans, down to the time when liberty was granted them by Rodolph, King of Germany: from that  
15 period it will be better to read separately what each City did by its own wars. But what are *you* doing? How long will you hang over domestic matters as a son of the family, forgetting your town companionships? Unless this step-motherly war be very bad indeed, worse than the Dacian or the Sarmatian,  
20 you will certainly have to make haste, so as to come to us at least for winter-quarters. Meanwhile, if it can be done without trouble to you, I beg you to send me Justiniani, the historian of the Venetians. I will, on my word, see that he is well kept against your arrival, or, if you prefer it, that he  
25 is sent back to you not very long after receipt. Farewell.

London: Septemb. 23, 1637.



*Benedicto Bonmatthæo Florentino.*

8. Quod novas patriæ linguæ Institutiones adornas (Benedicte Bonmatthæe) jam jam operi fastigium impositurus, & commune tu quidem cum summis quibusdam ingeniis iter ad laudem ingrederis, & eam spem, quod video, eamque de  
5 te opinionem apud Cives tuos concitasti, ut qui ab aliis quæ tradita jam sunt, iis aut lucem, aut copiam, aut certe limam, atque ordinem tuo Marte facile sis allaturus. Quo nomine profecto populares tuos quam non vulgarem in modum tibi devinxeris, ingrati nempe sint ipsi, si non perspexerint. Nam  
10 qui in civitate mores hominum sapienter nôrit formare, domique & belli præclaris institutis regere, illum ego præ cæteris omni honore apprime dignum esse existimem. Proximum huic tamen, qui loquendi scribendique rationem & normam probo gentis sæculo receptam, præceptis regulisque  
15 sancire adnuitur, & veluti quodam vallo circummunire; quod quidem ne quis transire ausit, tantum non Romuleâ lege sit cautum. Utriusque enim horum utilitatem conferre si libet, justum utique & sanctum Civium convictum alter ille solus efficere potest; hic vero solus liberalem, & splend  
20 dum, & luculentum, quod proxime in votis est. Ille in hostem fines invadentem, ardorem credo excelsum, & intrepida consilia suppeditat; Hic Barbariem animos homi-

8. *To BENEDETTO BONMATTEI of Florence*

By this work of yours, Benedetto Bonmattei, the compilation of new institutes of your native tongue, now so far advanced that you are about to give it the finishing touch, you are entering on a path to renown shared with you by some  
5 intellects of the highest order, and have also, as I see, raised a hope and an opinion of yourself among your fellow-citizens, as of one that is to confer, by his own easy effort, either lucidity or richness, or, at least, polish and order, on what has been handed down by others. Under what extraordinary obligation  
10 tion you have laid your countrymen by this, they must be ungrateful if they do not perceive. For whoever in a state knows how to form wisely the manners of men and to rule them at home and in war with excellent institutes, him in the first place, above others, I should esteem worthy of all honour;  
15 but next to him the man who strives to establish in maxims and rules the method and habit of speaking and writing received from a good age of the nation, and, as it were, to fortify the same round with a kind of wall, any attempt to overleap which ought to be prevented by a law only short of that  
20 of Romulus. Should we compare the two in respect of utility, it is the former alone that can make the social existence of the citizens just and holy, but it is the latter alone that can make it splendid and beautiful,—which is the next thing to be wished. The one, as I believe, supplies a noble courage and  
25 intrepid counsels against an enemy invading the territory; the other takes to himself the task of extirpating and defeat-

num late incursantem, foedam & intestinam ingeniorum perduellem, doctâ aurium censurâ, Authorúmque bonorum expeditâ manu, explodendam sibi, & debellandam suscipit. Neque enim qui sermo, purúsne an corruptus, quæve lo-  
5 quendi proprietas quotidiana populo sit, parvi interesse arbitrandum est, quæ res Athenis non semel saluti fuit: immo vero, quod Platonis sententia est, immutato vestiendi more habituque graves in Republica motus, mutationésque portendi, equidem potius collabente in vitium atque errorem  
10 loquendi usu, occasum ejus Urbis, remque humilem & obscuram subsequi crediderim: verba enim partim inscita & putida, partim mendosa, & perperam prolata; quid nisi ignavos, & oscitantes, & ad servile quidvis jam olim paratos incolarum animos haud levi indicio declarant? Contra, nul-  
15 lum unquam audivimus imperium, nullam Civitatem non mediocriter saltem floruisse, quamdiu Linguæ sua gratia, suusque cultus constitit. Tu itaque, Benedicte, hanc operam Reipublicæ tuæ navare modo ut pergas, quam pulchram, quamque solidam a civibus tuis necessario gratiam initurus sis,  
20 vel hinc liquido specta. Quæ à me eo dicta sunt, non quod ego te quidquam horum ignorare censeam, sed quod mihi persuadeam, in hoc te magis multo intentum esse, quid tute patriæ tuæ possis persolvere, quam quid illa tibi jure optimo

ing, by means of a learned detective police of ears and a light cavalry of good authors, that barbarism which makes large inroads upon the minds of men, and is a destructive intestine enemy to genius. Nor is it to be considered of small consequence what language, pure or corrupt, a people has, or what is their customary degree of propriety in speaking it,—a matter which oftener than once involved the salvation of Athens: nay, while it is Plato's opinion that by a change in the manner and habit of dressing serious commotions and mutations are portended in a commonwealth, I, for my part, would rather believe that the fall of that city and its low and obscure condition were consequent on the general vitiation of its usage in the matter of speech. For, let the words of a country be in part unhandsome and offensive in themselves, in part debased by wear and wrongly uttered, and what do they declare but, by no light indication, that the inhabitants of that country are an indolent, idly-yawning race, with minds already long prepared for any amount of servility? On the other hand, we have never heard that any empire, any state, did not flourish moderately at least as long as liking and care for its own language lasted. Therefore, Benedetto, if only you proceed to perform vigorously this labour of yours for your native state, behold clearly, even from this, what a fair and solid affection you will necessarily win from your countrymen. All this I say, not because I suppose you to be ignorant of any of it, but because I persuade myself that you are much more intent on the consideration of what you yourself can do for your country than of what your country will, by the best,

sit debitura. De exteris jam nunc dicam, quorum demerendi, si tibi id cordi est, persane ampla in præsens oblata est occasio; ut enim est apud eos ingenio quis forte floridior, aut moribus amœnis & elegantibus, Linguam Hetruscam in deliciis habet præcipuis, quin & in solida etiam parte eruditionis esse sibi ponendam ducit, præsertim si Græca aut Latina, vel nullo, vel modico tinctu imbiberit. Ego certe istis utrisque Linguis non extremis tantummodo labris madidus; sed siquis alius, quantum per annos licuit, poculis majoribus  
5 prolutus, possum tamen nonnunquam ad illum Dantem, & Petrarcham aliosque vestros complusculos, libenter & cupide commessatum ire: nec me tam ipsæ Athenæ Atticæ cum illo suo pellucido Ilisso, nec illa vetus Roma suâ Tiberis ripâ retinere valuêrunt; quin sæpe Arnum vestrum, & Fæsulanos  
15 illos colles invisere amem. Jam vide, obsecro, numquid satis causæ fuerit, quæ me vobis ultimum ab Oceano hospitem per hosce aliquot dies dederit, vestræque Nationis ita amantem, ut non alius, opinor, magis. Quo magis merito potes meminisse, quid ego tanto opere abs te contendere soleam;  
20 uti jam inchoatis, majori etiam ex parte absolutis, velles, quantâ maximâ facilitate res ipsa tulerit, in nostram exterorum gratiam, de recta linguæ pronuntiatione adhuc paululum quiddam adjicere. Cæteris enim sermonis vestri consultis in hanc usque diem id animi videtur fuisse, suis tantum

right, owe to you. I will now speak of foreigners. For obliging them, if that is at your heart, most certainly at present an ample opportunity is offered,— since what one is there among them that, happening to be more blooming than the rest in  
5 genius or in pleasing and elegant manners, and so counting the Tuscan tongue among his chief delights, does not also consider that it ought to have a place for him in the solid part of his literature, especially if he has imbibed Greek and Latin either not at all or but in slight tincture? I, certainly,  
10 who have not wet merely the tips of my lips with both those tongues, but have, as much as any, to the full allowance of my years, drained their deeper draughts, can yet sometimes willingly and eagerly go for a feast to that Dante of yours, and to Petrarch, and a good few more; nor has Attic Athens  
15 herself, with her pellucid Ilissus, nor that old Rome with her bank of the Tiber, been able so to hold me but that I love often to visit your Arno and these hills of Fæsule. See now, I entreat, whether it has not been with enough of providential cause that I have been given to you for these few days, as your  
20 latest guest from the ocean, who am so great a lover of your nation that, as I think, there is no other more so. Wherefore you may, with more reason, remember what I am wont so earnestly to request of you,— to wit, that to your work already begun, and in greater part finished, you would, to the utmost  
25 extent that the case will permit, add yet, in behalf of us foreigners, some little appendix concerning the right pronunciation of the language. For with other authorities in your tongue hitherto the intention seems to have been to satisfy

ut satisfacerent, de nobis nihil solliciti. Quamquam ille meo quidem iudicio, & famæ suæ, & Italici sermonis gloriæ, haud paulo certius consuluisse, si præcepta ita tradidissent, ac si omnium mortalium referret ejus linguæ scientiam appetere:

5 verum per illos non stetit quo minus nobis videremini vos Itali, intra Alpium duntaxat pomœria sapere voluisse. Hæc igitur laus prælibata nemini, tota erit tua, tibi intactam & integram hucusque se servat; nec illa minus, si in tanta Scriptorum turba commonstrare separatim non gravabere, quis

10 post illos decantatos Florentinæ linguæ auctores poterit secundas haud injuriâ sibi asserere: quis Tragœdia insignis, quis in Comœdia festivus & lepidus; quis scriptis Epistolis aut Dialogis, argutus aut gravis; quis in Historia nobilis: ita & studioso potio-rem quemque eligere volenti non erit diffi-

15 cile, & erit, quoties vagari latius libebit, ubi pedem intrepide possit figere. Quâ quidem in re, inter Antiquos Ciceronem & Fabium habebis, quos imiteris; vestrorum autem hominum haud scio an ullum. Atque hæc ego tametsi videor mihi abs te (nisi me animus fallit) jam primo impetrasse, quoties

20 in istius rei mentionem incidimus, quæ tua comitas est, & benignum ingenium; nolo tamen id tibi fraudi sit, quo minus exqu岸ite, ut ita dicam, atque elaborate exorandum te

only their own countrymen, without care for us. Although, in my opinion, they would have consulted both their own fame and the glory of the Italian tongue much more certainly had they so delivered their precepts as if it concerned all mankind to acquire the knowledge of that language, yet, in so far as has depended on them, you might seem, you Italians, to regard nothing beyond the bounds of the Alps. This praise, therefore, untasted by any one before, will be wholly your own, and keeps itself till now untouched and entire for you; nor less another which I will venture to mention. Would you consider it too much trouble if you were to give information separately on such points as these:—who, in such a crowd of writers, can justly claim for himself the second place, next after the universally celebrated authors of the Florentine tongue; who is illustrious in Tragedy; who happy and sprightly in Comedy; who smart or weighty in Epistles or Dialogues; who noble in History? By this means the choice of the best in each kind would not be difficult for the willing student, while, whenever it might please him to range more widely, he would have ground on which to step intrepidly. In this matter you will have, among the ancients, Cicero and Fabius for examples; but whether any of your own men I know not.—Though I believe I have already (unless my memory deceive me) made these demands of you every time we have fallen on the matter in talk,—such is your politeness and kindly disposition,—I am unwilling to regard that as any reason for not entreating the same in set phrase, so to speak, and in an express manner. For while your own worth



mihi esse putem. Nam quod tua virtus, tuusque candor, minimum rebus tuis pretium, minimamque æstimationem addicit; iis ego, justam volo, & exactam, cum rei dignitas, tum adeo mea observantia imponat; & certe hoc æquum est  
5 ubique, quanto quis petenti faciliorem se præbet, tanto minus concedentis honori deesse oportebit. De cætero, si forte cur in hoc argumento, Latinâ potius quam vestrâ Linguâ utar, miraris; id factum eâ gratiâ est, ut intelligas quam ego Linguam abs te mihi præceptis exornandam cupio, ejus me  
10 plane meam imperitiam, & inopiam Latine confiteri; & hâc ipsâ ratione plus me valiturum apud te speravi simul & illud, si canam; & venerandam è Latio matrem, in filiæ causâ suâ mecum adjutricem adduxissem, credidi fore ejus authoritati, & reverentiæ, augustæque per tot sæcula Majestati, nihil ut  
15 denegares. Vale.

*Florentiæ*, Septemb. 10. 1638.

*Luæ Holstenio Romæ in Vaticano.*

9. TAMETSÍ multa in hoc meo Italiæ transcurso multorum in me humaniter & peramice facta, & possum, & sæpe soleo recordari; tamen pro tam brevi notitia, haud scio an jure  
20 dicam ullius majora extitisse in me benevolentiae indicia quam ea quæ mihi abs te profecta sunt. Cum enim tui conveniendi causâ in Vaticanum ascenderem, ignotum prorsus,

and candour would assign the lowest value and the lowest estimation to your own labours, my wish is that both their inherent dignity and my individual respect should set the just and exact value upon them; and certainly it is but fair everywhere that, the more easily one admits a request, the less defect should there be of due honour to his compliance.— For the rest, should you perchance wonder why, on such a subject, I use the Latin tongue rather than yours, please to understand that it is precisely because I wish to have this Italian tongue of yours cleared up for me in precepts by yourself that I employ Latin openly in my confession of poverty and want of skill. By this very method I have hoped to prevail more with you, not without a belief at the same time that, by the very act of bringing with me that hoary and venerable mother from Latium as my helper in her daughter's cause, I should make sure that you would deny nothing to her venerable authority, her majesty august through so many ages. Farewell.

Florence, Septemb. 10, 1638.

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9. *To* LUCAS HOLSTENIUS *in the Vatican at Rome*

Although I both can and often do remember many courteous and most friendly acts done me by many in this my passage through Italy, yet, for so brief an acquaintance, I do not know whether I can justly say that from any one I have had greater proofs of goodwill than those which have come to me from you. For, when I went up to the Vatican for the

nisi si quid forte ab Alexandro Cherubino dictum de me prius fuerat, summâ cum humanitate recepisti; mox in Musæum comiter admisso, & conquisitissimam Librorum supellectilem, & permultos insuper Manuscriptos Authores Græcos, tuis Lucubrationibus exornatos, adspicere licuit: quorum partim nostro sæculo nondum visi, quasi in procinctu, velut illæ apud Maronem,

———— penitus convalle virenti  
Inclusæ animæ, superumque ad limen ituræ;

10 expeditas modo Typographi manus, & *μαευτικὴν* poscere videbantur; partim tuâ operâ etiamnum editi, passim ab eruditis avide accipiuntur; quorum & unius etiam duplici dono abs te auctus dimittor. Tum nec aliter crediderim, quam quæ tu de me verba feceris ad præstantissimum Car-

15 din. Franc. Barberinum, iis factum esse, ut cum ille paucis post diebus *ἀκρόαμα* illud Musicum magnificentiâ vere Romanâ publice exhiberet, ipse me tanta in turba quæsitum ad fores expectans, & pene manu prehensum persane honorifice intro admiserit. Quâ ego gratiâ cum illum postridie

20 salutatum accessissem, tute idem rursus is eras, qui & aditum mihi fecisti, & colloquendi copiam; quæ quidem cum tanto viro, quo etiam in summo dignitatis fastigio nihil benignius,

purpose of meeting you, though a total stranger to you,— unless perchance anything had been previously said about me to you by Alexander Cherubini,— you received me with the utmost courtesy. Admitted at once with politeness into the  
5 Museum, I was allowed to behold the superb collection of books, and also very many manuscript Greek authors set forth with your explanations,— some of whom, not yet seen in our age, seemed now, in their array, like Virgil's

souls enclosed deep within a green valley and  
10 ready to approach the threshold of the world above

to demand the active hands of the printer, and a delivery into the world, while others, already edited by your care, are eagerly received everywhere by scholars:— dismissed, too, richer than I came, with two copies of one of these last pre-  
15 sented to me by yourself. Then, I could not but believe that it was in consequence of the mention you made of me to the most excellent Cardinal Francesco Barberini that, when he, a few days after, gave that public musical entertainment with truly Roman magnificence, he himself, waiting at the doors,  
20 and seeking me out in so great a crowd, almost seizing me by the hand indeed, admitted me within in a truly most honourable manner. Further, when, on this account, I went to pay my respects to him next day, you again were the person that both made access for me and obtained me an opportunity  
25 of leisurely conversation with him — an opportunity such as, with so great a man,— than whom, on the topmost summit of dignity, nothing more kind, nothing more courteous,—

nihil humanius, pro loci & temporis ratione largiuscula profecto potius erat, quam nimis parca. Atque ego (Doctissime Holsteni) utrum ipse sim solus tam te amicum, & hospitem expertus, an omnes Anglos, id spectans scilicet quod triennium Oxoniæ Literis operam dederis, istiusmodi officiis etiam quoscunque prosequi studium sit, certe nescio. Si hoc est, pulchre tu quidem Angliæ nostræ, ex parte etiam tuæ, διδασκαλία persolvis; privatóque nostrûm cujusque nomine, & patriæ publico, parem utrobique gratiam promereris. Sin  
10 est illud, eximium me tibi præ cæteris habitum, dignumque adeo visum quicum velis ξενίαν ποιῆσθαι, & mihi gratulor de tuo judicio, & tuum simul candorem præ meo merito pono. Jam illud vero quod mihi negotium dedisse videbare, de inspiciendo codice Mediceo, sedulo ad amicos retuli, qui quidem  
15 ejus rei efficiendæ spem perexiguam in præsens ostendunt. In illa Bibliotheca, nisi impetratâ prius veniâ, nihil posse exscribi, ne stylum quidem scriptorium admovisse tabulis permissum; esse tamen aiunt Romæ Joannem Baptistam Donium, is ad legendas publice Græcas Literas Florentiam vocatus indies expectatur, per eum ut consequi possis quæ velis facile esse; quanquam id sane mihi pergratum accidisset, si res tam præsertim optanda quæ sit, meâ potius opellâ saltem

was truly, place and time considered, too ample rather than too sparing. I am quite ignorant, most learned Holstenius, whether I am exceptional in having found you so friendly and hospitable, or whether, in respect of your having spent three  
5 years in study at Oxford, it is your express habit to confer such obligations on all Englishmen. If the latter, truly you are paying back finely to our England the expenses of your schooling there, and you eminently deserve equal thanks on private grounds from each of us and on public grounds for our  
10 country. If the former is the case, then that I should have been held distinguishable by you above the rest, and should have seemed worthy so far of a wish on your part to form a bond of friendship with me, while I congratulate myself on this opinion of yours, I would at the same time attribute it to *your*  
15 frankness rather than to *my* merit. The commission which you seemed to give me, relating to the inspection of a Medicæan codex, I have already carefully reported to my friends; who, however, hold forth for the present very small hope of effecting that matter. In that library, I am told, nothing can  
20 be copied, unless by leave first obtained; it is not permitted even to bring a pen to the tables. But they tell me that Giovanni Battista Doni is now in Rome; having been called to Florence to undertake the public lectureship in Greek, he is daily expected; and through him, they say, it will be easy for  
25 you to compass what you want. Still it would have been truly a most gratifying accident for me if a matter of a kind so eminently desirable had advanced somewhat farther by my little endeavour, the disgrace being that, engaged as you are

aliquanto plus promovisset, cum sit indignum tam tibi honesta & præclara suscipienti, non omnes undicunque homines, & rationes, & res favere. De cætero, novo beneficio devinxeris, si Eminentissimum Cardinalem quantâ potest observantiâ meo nomine salutes, cujus magnæ virtutes, rectique studium, ad provehendas item omnes Artes Liberales egregie comparatum, semper mihi ob oculos versantur; tum illa mitis, &, ut ita dicam, summissa animi celsitudo, quæ sola se deprimendo attollere didicit; de qua vere dici potest, quod  
 10 de Cerere apud Callimachum est, diversâ tamen sententiâ, ἰθματα μὲν χέρσω κεφαλὰ δὲ οἱ ἄπτετ' ὀλύμπῳ. Quod cæteris fere Principibus documento esse potest, triste illud supercilium, & aulici fastus, quam longe à vera magnanimitate discrepantes & alieni sint. Nec puto fore, dum ille vivit, Estenses, Far-  
 15 nesios, aut Mediceos, olim doctorum hominum fautores, ut quis amplius desideret. Vale, Doctissime Holsteni, & si quis tui, tuorumque studiorum amantior est, illi me quoque, si id esse tanti existimas, ubicunque sim gentium futurus, velim annumeres.

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*Carolo Dato Patricio Florentino.*

10. PERLATIS inopinatò Literis ad me tuis, mi Carole, quantâ, & quam novâ sim voluptate perfusus, quandoquidem

in work so honourable and illustrious, all men, methods, and circumstances, are not everywhere at your bidding. — For the rest, you will have bound me by a new obligation if you salute his Eminence the Cardinal with all possible respect in  
5 my name; whose great virtues, and regard for what is right, singularly evident in his readiness to forward all the liberal arts, are always present before my eyes, as well as that meek, and, if I may so say, submissive loftiness of mind, which alone has taught him to raise himself by self-depression; concerning  
10 which it may truly be said, as is said of Ceres in Callimachus, though with a turn of the sense: 'Feet to the earth still cling, while the head is touching Olympus.' This may be a proof to most other princes how far asunder and alien from true magnanimity is the sour superciliousness and courtly haughtiness  
15 too common. Nor do I think that, while he is alive, men will miss any more the Este, the Farnesi, or the Medici, formerly the favourers of learned men.—Farewell, most learned Holstenius; and, if there is any more than average lover of you and your studies, I should wish you to reckon me along with  
20 him, should you think that of such consequence, wheresoever in the world my future may be.

Florence, March 30, 1639.

10. *To CHARLES DATI, Nobleman of Florence*

With how great and what new pleasure I was filled, my Charles, on the unexpected arrival of your letter, since it is  
25 impossible for me to describe it adequately, I wish you may



non est ut pro re satis queam dicere, volo ex dolore saltem, sine quo vix ulla magna hominibus delectatio concessa est, id aliquantum intelligas. Dum enim illa tua prima percurro, in quibus elegantia cum amicitia pulchre sane contendit, 5 merum illud quidem gaudium esse dixerim, præsertim cum uti vincat amicitia, operam te dare videam. Statim vero cum incido in illud quod scribis, ternas te jam olim ad me dedisse, quas ego periisse scio, tum primum sincera illa infici, tristisque desiderio conturbari, cœpta est lætitia; mox etiam 10 gravius quiddam subit, in quo vicem meam dolere persæpe soleo, quos forte viciniæ, aut aliqua nullius usus necessitudo mecum, sive casu, sive lege conglutinavit, illos nullâ re aliâ commendabiles assidere quotidie, obtundere, etiam enecare mehercule quoties collibitum erit; quos, mores, ingenium, 15 studia, tam belle conciliaverant, illos jam pene omnes, aut morte, aut iniquissimâ locorum distantîâ invideri mihi, & ita confestim è conspectu plerumque abripi, ut in perpetua fere solitudine versari mihi necesse sit. Te, quod ais, ex quo Florentiâ discessi, meâ de salute sollicitum, semperque mei 20 memorem fuisse, gratulor mihi sane, par illud utrique &

in some degree understand from the very pain with which it was dashed, such pain as is almost the invariable accompaniment of any great delight yielded to men. For, on running over that first portion of your letter, in which elegance contends so finely with friendship, I should have called my feeling one of unmixed joy, and the rather because I see your labour to make friendship the winner. Immediately, however, when I came upon that passage where you write that you had sent me three letters before, which I now know to have been lost, then, in the first place, that sincere gladness of mine at the receipt of this one began to be infected and troubled with a sad regret, and presently a something heavier creeps in upon me, to which I am accustomed in very frequent grievings over my own lot: the sense, namely, that those whom the mere necessity of neighbourhood, or something else of a useless kind, has closely conjoined with me, whether by accident or by the tie of law, *they* are the persons, though in no other respect commendable, who sit daily in my company, weary me, nay, by heaven, all but plague me to death whenever they are jointly in the humour for it, whereas those whom habits, disposition, studies, had so handsomely made my friends, are now almost all denied me, either by death or by most unjust separation of place, and are so for the most part snatched from my sight that I have to live well-nigh in a perpetual solitude. As to what you say, that from the time of my departure from Florence you have been anxious about my health and always mindful of me, I truly congratulate myself that a feeling has been equal and mutual in both of us, the

mutuum accidisse, quod ego me solum sensisse meo fortasse merito arbitrabar. Gravis admodum, ne te celem, discessus ille & mihi quoque fuit, eosque meo animo aculeos infixit, qui etiam nunc altius inhærent, quoties mecum cogito tot  
5 simul sodales atque amicos tam bonos, tamque commodos unâ in urbe, longinquâ illâ quidem, sed tamen charissimâ, invitum me, & plane divulgum reliquisse. Testor illum mihi semper sacrum & solenne futurum Damonis tumultum; in  
10 cujus funere ornando cum luctu & mœrore oppressus, ad ea quæ potui solatia confugere, & respirare paulisper cupiebam, non aliud mihi quicquam jucundius occurrit, quam vestrum omnium gratissimam mihi memoriam, tuique nominatim in mentem revocasse. Id quod ipse jamdiu legisse debes, siquidem ad vos carmen illud pervenit, quod ex te nunc primum  
15 audio. Mittendum ego sane sedulo curaveram, ut esset ingenii quantulumcunque, amoris autem adversum vos mei, vel illis paucis versiculis, emblematis ad morem inclusis, testimonium haudquaquam obscurum. Existimabam etiam fore hoc modo, ut vel te vel alium ad scribendum allicerem;  
20 mihi enim si prior scriberem, necesse erat, ut vel ad omnes, vel si quem aliis prætulissem, verebar ne in cæterorum, qui id rescissent, offensionem incurrerem; cum permultos adhuc superesse istic sperem, qui hoc à me officium vindicare certe potuerint. Nunc tu omnium primus, & hâc amicissimâ Li-  
25 terarum provocatione, & scribendi officio ter jam repetito

existence of which on my side only I was perhaps claiming to my credit. Very sad to me also, I will not conceal from you, was that departure, and it planted stings in my heart which now rankle there deeper, as often as I think with myself of  
5 my reluctant parting, my separation as by a wrench, from so many companions at once, such good friends as they were, and living so pleasantly with each other in one city, far off indeed, but to me most dear. I call to witness that tomb of Damon, ever to be sacred and solemn to me, whose adorn-  
10 ment with every tribute of grief was my weary task, till I betook myself at length to what comforts I could, and desired again to breathe a little—I call that sacred grave to witness that I have had no greater delight all this while than in recalling to my mind the most pleasant memory of all of  
15 you, and of yourself especially. This you must have read for yourself long ere now, if that poem reached you, as now first I hear from you it did. I had carefully caused it to be sent, in order that, however small a proof of talent, it might, even in those few lines introduced into it emblem-wise, be no obscure  
20 proof of my love towards you. My idea was that by this means I should lure either yourself or some of the others to write to me; for, if I wrote first, either I had to write to all, or I feared that, if I gave the preference to any one, I should incur the reproach of such others as came to know it, hoping  
25 as I do that very many are yet there alive who might certainly have a claim to this attention from me. Now, however, you first of all, both by this most friendly call of your letter, and by your thrice-repeated attention of writing be-

debitas tibi à me jampridem respondendi vices reliquorum  
expostulatione liberasti. Quanquam fateor accessisse ad il-  
lam silentii causam, turbulentissimus iste, ex quo domum  
reversus sum, Britanniae nostrae status, qui animum meum  
5 paulo post ab studiis excolendis, ad vitam & fortunas quoquo  
modo tue-das necessario convertit. Ecquem tu inter tot  
Civium commissa praelia, caedes, fugas, bonorum direption-  
es, recessum otio Literario tutum dari putes posse? Nos  
tamen etiam inter hæc mala, quoniam de studiis meis cer-  
10 tior fieri postulas, sermone patrio haud pauca in lucem de-  
dimus; quæ nisi essent Anglice scripta, libens ad vos mit-  
terem, quorum judiciis plurimum tribuo. Poematum qui-  
dem quæ pars Latina est, quoniam expetis, brevi mittam;  
atque id sponte jamdudum fecissem, nisi quod, propter ea  
15 quæ in Pontificem Romanum aliquot paginis asperius dicta  
sunt, suspicabar vestris auribus fore minus grata. Nunc abs  
te peto, ut quam veniam, non dico Aligerio, & Petrarchæ  
vestro eadem in causa, sed meæ, ut scis, olim apud vos lo-  
quendi libertati, singulari cum humanitate, dare consuevis-  
20 tis, eandem impetres (nam de te mihi persuasum est) ab  
cæteris amicis, quoties de vestris ritibus nostro more loquen-  
dum erit. Exequias Ludovici Regis à te descriptas libenter  
lego, in quibus Mercurium tuum, non compitalem illum &





fore, have freed the reply for which I have been some while since in your debt from any expostulation from the others. There was, I confess, an additional cause for my silence in that most turbulent state of our Britain, subsequent to my  
5 return home, which obliged me to divert my mind shortly afterwards from the prosecution of my studies to the defence anyhow of life and fortune. What safe retirement for literary leisure could you suppose given one among so many battles of a civil war, slaughters, flights, seizures of goods? Yet,  
10 even in the midst of these evils, since you desire to be informed about my studies, know that we have published not a few things in our native tongue; which, were they not written in English, I would willingly send to you, my friends in Florence, to whose opinions I attach very much value. The  
15 part of the Poems which is in Latin I will send shortly, since you wish it; and I would have done so spontaneously long ago, but that, on account of the rather harsh sayings against the Pope of Rome in some of the pages, I had a suspicion they would not be quite agreeable to your ears. Now I beg of you  
20 that the indulgence you were wont to give, I say not to your own Dante and Petrarch in the same case, but with singular politeness to my own former freedom of speech, as you know, among you, the same you, Dati, will obtain (for of yourself I am sure) from my other friends whenever I may be speak-  
25 ing of your religion in our peculiar way. I am reading with pleasure your description of the funeral ceremony to King Louis, in which I recognize your style—not that one of street bazaars and mercantile concerns which you say jest-



mercimoniis addictum, quem te nuper colere jocularis, sed facundum illum, Musis acceptum, & Mercurialium virorum præsidem, agnosco. Restat ut de ratione aliqua & modo inter nos constet, quo literæ deinceps nostræ certo itinere utrinque  
5 commeare possint. Quod non admodum difficile videtur, cum tot nostri Mercatores negotia apud vos, & multa, & ampla habeant, quorum Tabellarii singulis hebdomadis ultro citroque cursitant; quorum & navigia haud multo rarius hinc illinc solvunt. Hanc ego curam Jacobo Bibliopolæ, vel ejus  
10 hero mihi familiarissimo, recte, ut spero, committam. Tu interim, mi Carole, valebis, & Cultellino, Francino, Frescobaldo, Malatestæ, Clementillo minori, & si quem alium nostri amantiorem novisti; toti denique Gaddianæ Academiæ, salutem meo nomine plurimam dices. Iterum vale.

15

*Londino, Aprilis 21. 1647.*

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*Hermanno Millio, Comitis Oldenburgici Oratori.*

II. AD Literas tuas, Nobilissime Hermanne, 17 Decemb. ad me datas, antequam respondeam; ne me silentii tam diutini reum fortassis apud te peragas, primum omnium oportet exponam, cur non responderem prius. Primum igitur  
20 ne nescias, moram attulit, quæ perpetua jam fere Adversatrix mihi est, adversa valetudo; deinde valetudinis causa, necessaria quædam & subita in ædes alias migratio, quam eo die forte inceperam, quo tuæ ad me Literæ perferebantur;

ingly you have been lately practising, but the right eloquent one which the Muses like, and which befits the president of a club of wits. It remains that we agree on some method and plan by which henceforth our letters may go between us by  
5 a sure route. This does not seem very difficult, when so many of our merchants have frequent and large transactions with you, and their messengers run backwards and forwards every week, and their vessels sail from port to port not much seldom. The charge of this I shall commit, rightly I hope, to  
10 Bookseller James, or to his master, my very familiar acquaintance. Meanwhile farewell, my Charles; and give best salutations in my name to Coltellini, Francini, Frescobaldi, Malatesta, Clementillo the younger, anyone else you know that remembers me with some affection, and, in fine, to the whole  
15 Gaddian Academy. Again farewell!

London: April 21, 1647.

11. *To HERMANN MYLIUS, Agent for the Count of Oldenburg*

Before I reply, most noble Hermann, to your letter to me of the 17th of December, I must first of all, lest you should perchance consider me the person responsible for so long a  
20 silence, explain why I did not reply sooner. Understand then that a first cause of delay was, what is now almost a perpetual enemy of mine, bad health; next, on account of my health, there was a sudden and unavoidable removal to another house, and I had begun the same, as it chanced, on the very day on  
25 which your letter was brought me; finally, in truth, I was

postremo certe pudor, non habuisse me quicquam de tuo negotio quod gratum fore tibi judicabam. Nam cum postridie in Dominum Frostium casu incidissem, exque eo diligenter quærerem, ecquod tibi responsum etiamnum decerneretur? (ipse enim à Concilio valetudinarius sæpe aberam) respondit, & commotior quidem, nihil dum decerni, seque in expedienda re ista nihil proficere. Satiùs itaque duxi ad tempus silere, quam id quod molestum tibi sciebam fore, extemplo scribere, donec, quod ipse vellem, tuque tantopere expetebas, libentissime possem scribere; quod & hodie, uti spero, perfeci; nam cum in Concilio Præsidentem de tuo negotio semel atque iterum commonefecissem, statim ille retulit, adeoque in crastinum diem de responso quamprimum tibi dando constituta deliberatio est. Hac de re si primus ipse, quod conabar, certio rem te facerem, & tibi jucundissimum, & mei in te studii indicium aliquod fore existimabam.

*Westmonasterio.*

*Clarissimo Viro Leonardo Philaræ Atheniensi, Ducis  
Parmensis ad Regem Galliæ Legato.*

12. BENEVOLENTIAM erga me tuam, Ornatissime Leonarde Philara, necnon etiam præclarum de nostra pro P. A.  
20 defensione iudicium, ex Literis tuis ad Dominum Augerium,

ashamed at then having nothing to report on your business that I thought would be agreeable to you. For, when, the day after, I met Mr. Frost accidentally, and carefully enquired of him whether any answer was yet under resolution for you  
5 (for, in my invalid state, I was often myself absent from the Council), he told me, and with some concern, that nothing was yet under resolution, and that he was having no success in his efforts to expedite the affair. I thought it better, therefore, to be silent for a time than to write at once what I knew  
10 would be annoying to you, and this in the expectation of afterwards being able to write, with full satisfaction, what *I* wanted to write and *you* so much desired. To-day, as I hope, I have brought things to a conclusion; for, after I had in the Council once and again reminded the President of your business, he  
15 reported it immediately, and with such effect that to-morrow is appointed for the consideration of an answer to be given to you as speedily as possible. I thought that, if I were the first, as was my purpose, to give you this information, you would be greatly pleased and it would also be a sign of my regard  
20 for you.

Westminster.

12. *To the most distinguished LEONARD PHILARAS, of Athens,  
Ambassador from the Duke of Parma to the King of France*

Your good will towards me, most honoured LEONARD PHILARAS, as well as your high opinion of our *Defence for the English People*, I learnt from your letters, written partly on

Virum apud nos, in obeundis ab hac Republica Legationibus, fide eximiâ illustrem, partim eâ de re scriptis cognovi: missam deinde salutem cum effigie, atque Elogio tuis sanc virtutibus dignissimo; Literas denique abs te humanissimas  
5 per eundem accepi. Atque ego quidem cum nec Germanorum ingenia, ne Cymbrorum quidem, aut Suecorum aspernari soleo, tum certe tuum, qui & Athenis Atticis natus, & Literarum studiis apud Italos foeliciter peractis, magno rerum usu Honores amplissimos es consecutus, iudicium de  
10 me non possum quin plurimi faciam. Cum enim Alexander ille magnus in terris ultimis bellum gerens, tantos se Militiæ labores pertulisse testatus fit, τῆς παρ' Ἀθηναίων εὐδοξίας ἔνεκα; quidni ego mihi gratuler, meque ornari quam maxime putem, ejus Viri laudibus, in quo jam uno priscorum Atheni  
15 ensium Artes, atque Virtutes illæ celebratissimæ, renasci tam longo intervallo, & refluorêscere videntur. Quâ ex urbe cum tot Viri Disertissimi prodierint, eorum potissimûm scriptis ab adolescentia pervolvendis, didicisse me libens fateor quicquid ego in Literis profeci. Quod si mihi tanta vis dicendi  
20 accepta ab illis & quasi transfusa inesset, ut exercitus nostros & classes ad liberandam ab Ottomannico tyranno Græciam,

that subject, to MR. AUGIER, a man illustrious among us for his remarkable fidelity in diplomatic business for this Republic: after which I received, through the same, your kind greeting, with your portrait, and the accompanying eulogium, 5 certainly most worthy of your virtues,— and then, finally, a most polite letter from yourself. Be assured that I, who am not in the habit of despising the genius of the Germans, or even of the Danes or Swedes, cannot but value very much such an opinion of me from *you*, a native of Attic Athens, who have 10 besides, after happily finishing a course of literary studies among the Italians, reached such ample honours by great handling of affairs. For, as the great Alexander himself, when carrying on war in the remotest parts of the earth, declared that he had undergone such great labours for the sake of the 15 good opinion of the Athenians, why should not I congratulate myself, and think myself honoured to the highest, in having received praises from one in whom singly at this day the Arts of the old Athenians and all their celebrated excellencies appear, after so long an interval, to revive and rebloom? Re- 20 membering how many men of supreme eloquence were produced by that city, I have pleasure in confessing that whatever literary advance I have made I owe chiefly to steady intimacy with their writings from my youth upwards. But, were there in me, by direct gift from them, or a kind of trans- 25 fusion, such a power of pleading that I could rouse our armies and fleets for the deliverance of Greece, the land of eloquence, from her Ottoman oppressor—to which mighty act you seem almost to implore our aid—truly there is nothing which it

Eloquentiæ patriam, excitare possem, ad quod facinus egregium nostras opes pene implorare videris, facerem profecto id, quo nihil mihi antiquius aut in votis prius esset. Quid enim vel fortissimi olim Viri, vel eloquentissimi gloriosius  
 5 aut se dignius esse duxerunt, quam vel suadendo vel fortiter faciendo, ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ποιείσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας? Verùm & aliud quiddam præterea tentandum est, meâ quidem sentientiâ longe maximum, ut quis antiquam in animis Græcorum virtutem, industriam, laborum tolerantiam, antiqua illa studia dicendo, suscitare atque accendere possit.  
 10 Hoc si quis effecerit, quod à nemine potius quam abs te, pro tua illa insigni erga patriam pietate, cum summa prudentia, reique militaris peritia, summo denique recuperandæ libertatis pristinæ studio conjunctâ, expectare debemus; neque  
 15 ipsos sibi Græcos, neque ullam Gentem Græcis defuturam esse confido. Vale.

*Londino, Jun. 1652.*

*Richardo Hetbo.*

13. Si quam ego operam, Amice Spectatissime, vel in studiis tuis promovendis, vel in eorum subsidio comparando,  
 20 unquam potui conferre, quæ sane aut nulla plane, aut perexigua fuit; tamen eam in bona indole, quamvis serius cognitâ, tam bene tamque foeliciter collocatam, haud uno profecto nomine gaudeo; eam etiam adeo frugiferam fuisse, ut & Ecclesiæ Pastorem probum, Patriæ bonum Civem, mihi

would be more or sooner in my desire to do. For what did even the bravest men of old, or the most eloquent, consider more glorious or more worthy of them than, whether by pleading or by bravely acting, to make the Greeks free and self-governing? There is, however, something else besides to be tried, and in my judgment far the most important: namely that some one should, if possible, arouse and rekindle in the minds of the Greeks, by the relation of that old story, the old Greek valour itself, the old industry, the old patience of labour. Could some one do *that*—and from no one more than yourself ought we to expect it, looking to the strength of your feeling for your native land, and the combination of the same with the highest prudence, skill in military affairs, and a powerful passion for the recovery of the ancient political liberty—then, I am confident, neither would the Greeks be wanting to themselves, nor any other nation wanting to the Greeks. Farewell.

London, June 1652.

### 13. To RICHARD HEATH

If I have ever been able, my much respected Friend, to give aid, whether in promoting your studies or in procuring furtherance in them—and such aid has assuredly been either nothing or very slight—I am glad on more than one account that it should have been bestowed so well and fortunately on a nature of such promise, though known rather late, and that it has been so fruitful as to have produced an upright pastor of



denique Amicum gratissimum pepererit. Quod equidem, cum ex cætera vita tua atque ex eo, quod de Religione & simul de Republica præclare sentis, tum præcipue ex singulari animi tui gratitudine, quæ nullâ absentîâ, nullo ætatis  
5 decursu, extinguere aut minui potest, facile intelligo. Neque enim potest fieri, nisi in virtute ac pietate, rerumque optimarum studiis, progressus plusquam mediocres fecisses, ut in eos, qui tibi ad ea acquirenda vel minimum adjumentum attulere, tam grato animo esses. Quapropter, mi alumne,  
10 hoc enim nomine in te utor libenter, si sinis; sic velim existimes, te cum primis à me diligere, nec mihi quicquam optatius fore, quam, si tua commoda, rationesque ferrent, quod & tibi etiam in votis esse video, ut possis prope me alicubi degere, quo frequentior inter nos atque jucundior, & vitæ  
15 usus & studiorum esset. Verum de eo, prout Numini visum erit, tibi quoque expediverit. Quod scripseris deinceps, poteris, si placet, nostro sermone scribere (quanquam tu quidem in Latinis haud parum profecisti) nequando scriptionis labor alterutrum nostrum segniorem forte ad scribendum reddiderit, utque sensus animi noster inter nos, nullis externi sermonis vinculis constrictus, eo liberius expromere se possit. Literas autem tuas cuivis, credo, ex ejus famulatio, cujus mentionem fecisti, rectissime committes. Vale.

*Westmonasterio, Decemb. 13. 1652.*

the church, a good citizen of his country, and at the same time an agreeable friend for myself. All this I am easily sure of, both from the rest of your life and your excellent state of sentiment about Religion and State, and also, and especially, 5 from that singular affectionateness of your mind which can be extinguished or lessened by no amount of absence, no lapse of time. Nor is it possible, unless you had made more than ordinary progress in virtue and piety and in study of the best things, that you should be so grateful to those who have con- 10 ferred even the least assistance towards those acquisitions. Wherefore, my Pupil (for I willingly call you by that name, if you allow it), I would have you believe that you have a high place in my regards, and that nothing would be more desirable for me than that, if your convenience and your plans per- 15 mitted (and this I see to be also in your own wishes), you should be able to live somewhere near me, so that there might be more frequent and pleasant intercourse of life and studies between us. But of that as God pleases and you find expedient! Further, as to what you say about writing in English, 20 do so if you please (though you have really made no small advance in Latin), lest at any time the trouble of writing should make either of us slow to write, and in order that our ideas, not being bound by any fetters of an alien speech, may the more freely express themselves. You will, I believe, with 25 the greatest propriety entrust your letters to any one of the servants of the family I have mentioned to you. Farewell.

Westminster, December 13, 1652.

*Henrico Oldenburgo Bremensium ad Sen. A. Oratori.*

14. PRIORES Literæ tuæ, Vir Ornatissime, tum mihi sunt  
datæ, cum Tabellarius vester diceretur jamjam rediturus:  
5 quo factum est, ut rescribendi eo tempore facultas nulla es-  
set: id vero quamprimum facere cogitantem inopinatæ quæ-  
dam occupationes excepêre; quæ nisi accidissent, Librum  
profecto, defensionis licet titulo munitum, non ita nudum  
ad te sine excusatione misissem; cum ecce tuæ ad me alteræ,  
10 in quibus pro muneris tenuitate satis supérque gratiarum  
sunt actæ. Et erat quidem haud semel in animo, Latinis tuis  
nostra reponere; ut qui sermonem nostrum exteris omnibus,  
quos ego quidem novi, accuratius ac foelicius addidiceris, ne  
quam occasionem eundem quoque scribendi, quod æque te  
15 arbitror accurate posse, amitteres. Verum id, prout dehinc  
impetus tulerit, tua perinde optio sit. De argumento quod  
scribis, plane mecum sentis, clamorem istiusmodi ad cœlum  
sensus omnes humanos fugere: quo impudentior sit is, ne-  
cesse est, qui audisse se eum tam audacter affirmaverit. Is  
20 autem quis sit, scrupulum injecisti: atqui dudum, cum ali-  
quoties hâc de re essemus inter nos locuti, túque recens ex  
Hollandia huc venisses, nulla tibi de Authore dubitatio sub-  
esse videbatur; quin is Mo. fuisset: eam nimirum iis in locis

14. *To HENRY OLDENBURG, Agent for Bremen*

Your former letter, Honoured Sir, was given to me when your messenger, I was told, was on the point of return; whence it happened that there was no opportunity of reply at that time. While I was afterwards purposing an early reply, some  
5 unexpected business took me off; but for which I should certainly not have sent you my book, *Defence* though it is called, in such a naked condition, without accompanying excuse. And now I have your second letter, in which your thanks are quite disproportioned to the slenderness of the gift. It was  
10 in my mind too more than once to send you back English for your Latin, in order that, as you have learnt to speak our language more accurately and happily than any other foreigner of my acquaintance, you should not lose any opportunity of writing the same; which I believe you could do with equal  
15 accuracy. But in this, just as henceforward the impulse may be, let your own choice regulate. As to the substance of your communication, you plainly think with me that a "Cry" of that kind "to Heaven" transcends all bounds of human sense; the more impudent, then, must be he who declares so boldly  
20 he has heard it. You throw in a scruple after all as to who he is: but, formerly, whenever we talked on this subject, just after you had come hither from Holland, you seemed to have no doubt whatever but MORUS was the author, inasmuch as that was the common report in those parts and no one else  
25 was named. If then, you have now at last any more certain information on the point, be so good as to inform me. As to

famam obtinuisse, neminem præterea nominari. Si quid igitur hac de re certius nunc demum habes, me rogo certiore facias. De argumenti tractatione vellem equidem (quid enim dissimulem) abs te non dissentire; id pene ut  
5 audeam, quid est quod persuadere facilius possit, quam virorum, qualis tu es, cordatorum sincerum iudicium, omnisque expers adulationis laudatio? Ad alia ut me parem, nescio sane an nobiliora aut utiliora (quid enim in rebus humanis asserendâ libertate nobiliora aut utiliora esse possit)  
10 siquidem per valetudinem & hanc luminum orbitatem, omni senectute graviolem, si denique per huiusmodi Rabularum clamores licuerit, facile induci potero: neque enim iners otium unquam mihi placuit, & hoc cum libertatis adversariis inopinatum certamen, diversis longe, & amœnioribus om-  
15 nino me studiis intentum, ad se rapuit invitum; ita tamen ut rei gestæ, quando id necesse erat, nequaquam poeniteat: nam in vanis operam consumpsisse me, quod innuere videris, longe abest, ut putem. Verum de his alias; tu tandem, Vir Doctissime, ne te prolixius detineam, vale; meque in tuis  
20 numera.

*Westmonasterio, Iulii 6. 1654.*

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*Leonardo Philaræ Atheniensi.*

15. Cum sim à pueritia totius Græci nominis, tuarumque in primis Athenarum cultor, si quis alius, tum una hoc semper mihi persuasissimum habebam, fore ut illa urbs præ-

the treatment of the argument, I should wish (why should I dissemble?) not to differ from you, if only because I would fain know what there is to which one would more readily yield than the sincere judgment of friendly men, like yourself, and praise free from all flattery. To prepare myself, as you suggest, for other labours,—whether nobler or more useful I know not, for what can be nobler or more useful in human affairs than the vindication of Liberty?—truly, if my health shall permit, and this blindness of mine, a sorer affliction than old age, and lastly the “cries” of such brawlers as there have been about me, I shall be induced to *that* easily enough. An idle ease has never had charms for me, and this unexpected contest with the Adversaries of Liberty took me off against my will when I was intent on far different and altogether pleasanter studies: not that in any way I repent of what I have done, since it was necessary; for I am far from thinking that I have spent my toil, as you seem to hint, on matters of inferior consequence. But of this at another time: meanwhile, learned Sir, not to detain you too long, farewell, and reckon me among your friends.

Westminster, July 6, 1654.

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15. To LEONARD PHILARAS, *Athenian*

As I have been from boyhood an especial worshipper of all bearing the Greek name, and of your Athens in chief, so I have always had a firm private persuasion that that city would some time or other requite me splendidly for my affection

claram aliquando redditura vicem esset benevolentiae erga se  
meam. Neque defuit sane tuae Patriae Nobilissimae antiquus  
ille genius augurio meo; deditque te nobis & germanum At-  
ticum & nostri amantissimum: Qui me, scriptis duntaxat  
5 notum, & locis ipse disjunctus, humanissime per Literas  
compellaveris, & Londinum postea inopinatus adveniens,  
visensque non videntem, etiam in ea calamitate, propter  
quam conspectior nemini, despectior multis fortasse sim,  
eadem benevolentiam prosequaris. Cum itaque author mihi  
10 sis, ut visus recuperandi spem omnem ne abjiciam, habere  
te amicum ac necessarium tuum Parisiis Tevenotum Medi-  
cum, in curandis praesertim oculis praestantissimum, quem  
sis de meis luminibus consulturus, si modo acceperis a me  
unde is causas morbi & symptomata possit intelligere; fa-  
15 ciam equidem quod hortaris, ne oblatam undecunque divini-  
tus fortassis opem repudiare videar. Decennium, opinor,  
plus minus est, ex quo debilitari atque hebescere visum sensi,  
eodemque tempore lienem, visceraque omnia gravari, flatu-  
busque vexari: & mane quidem, siquid pro more legere coe-  
20 pisset, oculi statim penitus dolere, lectionemque refugere,  
post mediocrem deinde corporis exercitationem recreari;  
quam aspexissem lucernam, Iris quaedam visa est redimire:  
haud ita multo post sinistram in parte oculi sinistri (is enim  
oculus aliquot annis prius altera nubilavit) caligo oborta,  
25 quae ad latus illud sita erant, omnia eripiebat. Anteriora quo-

towards her. Nor, in truth, has the ancient genius of your noble country failed my augury, since in you, an Athenian born, I have had bestowed upon me one of the most loving of friends. When I was known to you by writings only, and you  
5 were yourself separated from me by place, you opened a communication with me most courteously by letter; and, coming afterwards unexpectedly to London, and visiting a man incapable any more of seeing his visitors, even in that calamity by which I am rendered an object of more regard to none, and  
10 perhaps of less regard to many, you continue now to show me the same kind attention. As you have, therefore, suggested to me that I should not give up all hope of recovering my sight, and told me that you have a friend and close companion in the Paris physician Thevenot, especially distinguished as an oculist, and that you will consult him about my eyes if I furnish  
15 you with means for his diagnosis of the causes and symptoms, I will do what you advise, that I may not haply seem to refuse any chance of help offered me providentially.

It is ten years, I think, more or less, since I felt my sight getting weak and dull, and at the same time my viscera generally  
20 out of sorts. In the morning, if I began, as usual, to read anything, I felt my eyes at once thoroughly pained, and shrinking from the act of reading, but refreshed after moderate bodily exercise. If I looked at a lit candle, a kind of iris seemed to  
25 snatch it from me. Not very long after, a darkness coming over the left part of my left eye (for that eye became clouded some years before the other) removed from my vision all objects situated on that side. Objects in front also, if I chanced



que si dextrum forte oculum clausissem, minora visa sunt. Deficiente per hoc fere triennium sensim atque paulatim altero quoque lumine, aliquot ante mensibus quam visus omnis aboleretur, quæ immotus ipse cernerem, visa sunt  
 5 omnia nunc dextrorsum, nunc sinistrorsum natare; frontem totam atque tempora inveterati quidam vapores videntur insedis-  
 se; qui somnolentâ quadam gravitate oculos, á cibo præsertim usque ad vesperam, plerunque urgent atque deprimunt; ut mihi haud raro veniat in mentem Salmydessii  
 10 Vatis Phinei in Argonauticis,

*κάρος δέ μιν ἀμφεκάλυψεν  
 πορφύρεος γαῖαν δὲ πέριξ ἐδόκησε φέρεσθαι  
 νειόθεν ἀβληχρῶ δ' ἐπὶ κόματι κέκλιτ' ἀναυδος.*

Sed neque illud omiserim, dum adhuc visûs aliquantum  
 15 supererat, ut primum in lecto decubissem, meque in alterutrum latus reclinassem, consuevisse copiosum lumen clausis oculis emicare; deinde, imminuto indies visu, colores perinde obscuriores cum impetu & fragore quodam intimo exilire; nunc autem, quasi extincto lucido, merus nigror,  
 20 aut cineraceo distinctus, & quasi intextus solet se effundere: Caligo tamen quæ perpetuo obversatur, tam noctu, quam interdiu albenti semper quam nigricanti propior videtur; & volvente se oculo aliquantillum lucis quasi per rimulam ad-

to close the right eye, seemed smaller. The other eye also failing perceptibly and gradually through a period of three years, I observed, some months before my sight was wholly gone, that objects I looked at without myself moving seemed all to swim, now to the right, now to the left. Inveterate mists now seem to have settled in my forehead and temples, which weigh me down and depress me with a kind of sleepy heaviness, especially from meal-time to evening; so that not seldom there comes into my mind the description of the Salmydessian seer  
10 Phineus in the *Argonautics*:

All round him then there grew  
A purple thickness; and he thought the Earth  
Whirling beneath his feet, and so he sank,  
Speechless at length, into a feeble sleep.

15 But I should not forget to mention that, while yet a little sight remained, when first I lay down in bed, and turned myself to either side, there used to shine out a copious glittering light from my shut eyes; then that, as my sight grew less from day to day, colors proportionally duller would burst  
20 from them, as with a kind of force and audible shot from within; but that now, as if the sense of lucency were extinct, it is a mere blackness, or a blackness dashed, and as it were inwoven, with an ashy grey, that is wont to pour itself forth. Yet the darkness which is perpetually before me, by night as  
25 well as by day, seems always nearer to a whitish than to a blackish, and such that, when the eye rolls itself, there is admitted, as through a small chink, a certain little trifle of light.

mittit. Ex quo tametsi Medico tantundem quoque spei possit elucere, tamen ut in re plane insanabili, ita me paro atque compono; illudque sæpe cogito, cum destinati cuique dies tenebrarum, quod monet Sapiens, multi sint, meas adhuc  
5 huc tenebras, singulari Numinis benignitate, inter otium & studia, vocésque amicorum, & salutationes, illis lethalibus multo esse mitiores. Quod si, ut scriptum est, non solo pane vivet homo, sed omni verbo prodeunte per os Dei, quid est, cur quis in hoc itidem non acquiescat, non solis se oculis,  
10 sed Dei ductu ac providentia satis oculatum esse. Sane dummodo ipse mihi prospicit, ipse mihi providet, quod facit, meque per omnem vitam quasi manu ducit atque deducit, næ ego meos oculos, quandoquidem ipsi sic visum est, libens ferari jussero. Teque, mi Philara, quocunque res ceciderit,  
15 non minus forti & confirmato animo, quam si Lynceus essem, valere jubeo.

*Westmonasterio, Septemb. 28. 1654.*

*Leoni ab Aizema.*

16. PERGRATUM est eandem adhuc memoriam retinere te mei, quam antea benevolentiam, dum apud nos eras, me  
20 semel atque iterum invisendo, perhumaniter significasti. Ad Librum quod attinet de divortiis, quem dedisse te cuidam

And so, whatever ray of hope also there may be for me from your famous physician, all the same, as in a case quite incurable, I prepare and compose myself accordingly; and my frequent thought is that, since many days of darkness, as  
5 the Wise Man warns us, are destined for every one, my darkness hitherto, by the singular kindness of God, amid rest and studies, and the voices and greetings of friends, has been much easier to bear than that deathly one. But if, as is written, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word  
10 that proceedeth out of the mouth of God," what should prevent one from resting likewise in the belief that his eyesight lies not in his eyes alone, but enough for all purposes in God's leading and providence? Verily, while only He looks out for me and provides for me, as He doth, leading me and leading  
15 me forth as with His hand through my whole life, I shall willingly, since it has seemed good to Him, have given my eyes their long holiday. And to you, dear Philaras, whatever may befall, I now bid farewell, with a mind not less brave and steadfast than if I were Lynceus himself for keenness of  
20 sight.

Westminster: September 28, 1654.

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16. *To* LEO VAN AIZEMA

It is very gratifying to me that you retain the same amount of recollection of me as you very politely showed of good will by once and again visiting me while you resided among us.  
25 As regards the Book on Divorce which you tell me you have

Hollandice vertendum scribis, mallet equidem Latine vertendum dedisses: Nam vulgus opiniones nondum vulgares, quemadmodum excipere soleat, in iis libris expertus jam sum. Tres enim ea de re tractatus olim scripsi: Primum  
5 duobus Libris, quibus Doctrina & Disciplina divortii, is enim libro titulus est, diffuse continetur: Alterum qui Tetra-  
chordon inscribitur, & in quo quatuor præcipua loca Scripturæ super ea doctrina quæ sunt, explicantur: Tertium, Colasterion, in quo cuidam Sciolo respondetur. Quem horum  
10 Tractatum vertendum dederis, quamve editionem, nescio; nam eorum primus bis editus est, & posteriori editione multo auctius. Qua de re nisi certior jam factus sis, aut si quid à me aliud velle te intellexero, ut vel Editionem correctiorem, vel reliquos Tractatus tibi mittam, faciam sedulo & libenter.  
15 Nam mutatum in iis quicquam aut additum non est in præsentia quod velim. Itaque, si in tua sententia perstiteris, fidum ego mihi Interpretem, tibi fausta omnia exopto.

*Westmonasterio, Feb. 5. 1654.*

given to some one to be turned into Dutch, I would rather you had given it to be turned into Latin. For my experience in those books of mine has now been that the vulgar still receive according to their wont opinions not already common. I wrote a good while ago, I may mention, *three* treatises on the subject: — the first, in two books, in which *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (for that is the title of the book) is contained at large; a second, which is called *Tetrachordon*, and in which the four chief passages of Scripture concerning that doctrine are explicated; the third called *Colasterion*, in which answer is made to a certain sciolist. Which of these Treatises you have given to be translated, or what edition, I do not know: the first of them was twice issued, and was much enlarged in the second edition. Should you not have been made aware of this already, or should I understand that you desire anything else on my part, such as sending you the more correct edition or the rest of the Treatises, I shall attend to the matter carefully and with pleasure. For there is not anything at present that I should wish changed in them or added. Therefore, should you keep to your intention, I earnestly hope for myself a faithful translator, and for you all prosperity.

Westminster: Feb. 5, 1654–5.

*Ezechieli Spanbemio Genevensi.*

17. Nescio quo casu acciderit, ut Literæ tuæ post paulo minus tres menses mihi sint redditæ, quam abs te datæ: meis profecto expeditiore prorsus ad te commeatu plane est opus; quas dum de die in diem scribere constituebam occupationibus quibusdam continuis impeditus, in alterum fere trimestre spatium procrastinasse me sentio. Tu vero ex hac mea tarditate rescribendi velim intelligas, benevolentia erga me tuæ non refrixisse gratiam, sed eo altius insedissem memoriam, quo sæpius atque diutius de officio meo vicissim tibi reddendo indies cogitabam. Habet hoc saltem officii tarda solutio quo se excuset, dum clarius confitetur deberi, quod tanto post tempore, quam quod statim persolvitur. Illa te imprimis Literarum initio non fefellit de me opinio; non mirari si à peregrino homine salutor: neque enim rectius de me senseris, quam si sic existimes, neminem me virum bonum in peregrini aut ignoti numero habere. Talem te esse facile mihi persuadetur, cum quòd Patris doctissimi atque sanctissimi es filius, tum quod à Viris bonis bonus existimaris, tum denique quod odisti malos. Cum quibus, quandoquidem mihi quoque bellum esse contigit, fecit pro humanitate sua Calandrinus, deque mea sententia, ut significaret tibi, pergratum mihi fore, si contra communem ad-

17. *To EZEKIEL SPANHEIM of Geneva*

I know not by what accident it has happened that your letter has reached me little less than three months after date. There is clearly extreme need of a speedier conveyance of mine to you; for, though from day to day I was resolving to  
5 write it, I now perceive that, hindered by some constant occupations, I have put it off nearly another three months. I would not have you understand from this my tardiness in replying that my grateful sense of your kindness to me has cooled, but rather that the remembrance has sunk deeper from  
10 my longer and more frequent daily thinking of my duty to you in return. Late performance of duty has at least this excuse for itself, that there is a clearer confession of obligation to do a thing when it is done so long after than if it had been done immediately.

15 You are not wrong, in the first place, in the opinion of me expressed in the beginning of your letter—to wit, that I am not likely to be surprised at being addressed by a foreigner; nor could you, indeed, have a more correct impression of me than precisely by thinking that I regard no good man in the  
20 character of a foreigner or a stranger. That you are such I am readily persuaded by your being the son of a most learned and most saintly father, also by your being well esteemed by good men, and also finally by the fact that you hate the bad. With which kind of cattle as I too happen to have a warfare, Calan-  
25 drini has but acted with his usual courtesy, and in accordance with my own sentiment, in signifying to you that it would be



versarium tua subsidia mecùm communicasses. Id quod his  
ipsis Literis perhumaniter fecisti, quarum partem, tacito  
Authoris nomine, tuo erga me studio confisus, in defensio-  
nem meam pro testimonio inserere non dubitavi. Quem ego  
5 Librum, ut primum in lucem prodierit, si quis erit cui recte  
possim committere, mittendum ad te curabo. Tu interim  
quas ad me Literas destinaveris, Turretino Genevensi Lon-  
dini commoranti, cujus illic fratrem nôsti, haud frustra,  
puto, inscripseris: per quem ut ad vos hæ nostræ, ita ad nos  
10 vestræ, commodissime pervenerint. De cætero scias velim,  
& te plurimi tuo merito a me fieri, méque uti porro abs te  
diligar, imprimis velle.

*Westmonasterio, Martii 24. 1654.*

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*Henrico Oldenburgo Bremensium ad Sen. A. Oratori.*

18. OCCUPATIOREM repererunt me tuæ Literæ quas Ado-  
15 lescens Ranaleius attulit, unde cogor esse brevior quam vel-  
lem: tu vero quas abiens promiseras, eas ita probe reddidisti,  
ut æs alienum nemo sanctius ad Calendas, credo, persolvis-  
set. Secessum istum tibi, quamvis mihi fraudi sit, tamen  
quoniam tibi est voluptati, gratulor; tum illam quoque fœli-  
20 citatem animi tui, quem ab urbana vel ambitione vel otio ad

very gratifying to me if you lent me your help against a common adversary. This you have most obligingly done in this very letter, part of which, with the author's name not mentioned, I have not hesitated, trusting in your regard for me, to insert by way of evidence in my forthcoming *Defensio*. This book, as soon as it is published, I will direct to be sent to you, if there is any one to whose care I may rightly entrust it. Any letters you may intend for me, meanwhile, you will not, I think, be unsafe if you send under cover to Turretin of Geneva, now staying in London, whose brother in Geneva you know; through whom as this of mine will reach you most conveniently, so will yours reach me. For the rest I would assure you that you have won a high place in my esteem, and that I particularly wish to be loved by you yet more.

Westminster: March 24, 1654.

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18. *To HENRY OLDENBURG, Agent for Bremen with the English Government*

Your letter, brought by young Ranelagh, has found me rather busy; and so I am forced to be briefer than I should wish. You have certainly kept *your* departing promise of writing to me, and that with a punctuality surpassed, I believe, by no one hitherto in the payment of a debt. I congratulate you on your present retirement, to my loss though it be, since it gives pleasure to you; I congratulate you also on that happy state of mind which enables you so easily to set aside at once the ambition and the ease of city-life, and to lift your thoughts

sublimium rerum contemplationem tam facile potes attol-  
lere. Quid autem secessus ille conferat, præter Librorum  
copiam, nescio: & quos illic nactus es Studiorum socios, eos  
suoapte ingenio potius quam disciplina loci tales esse existi-  
5 mem; nisi forte ob desiderium tui iniquior sum isti loco quia  
te detinet. Ipse interim recte animadvertis, nimis illic mul-  
tos esse qui suis inanissimis argutiis tam divina quam hu-  
mana contaminent, ne plane nihil agere videantur dignum  
tot stipendiis, quibus pessimo publico aluntur. Sed tu ista  
10 melius per te sapis. Tam vetusti à diluvio usque Sinensium  
fasti, quos ab Jesuita Martinio promissos esse scribis, propter  
rerum novitatem avidissime proculdubio expectantur: verum  
auctoritatis, aut firmamenti, ad Mosaicos Libros adjungere  
quid possint non video. Salutem tibi reddit Cyriacus noster  
15 quem salutatum volebas. Vale.

*Westmonasterio, Junii 25. 1656.*

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*Nobilissimo Adolescenti Richardo Jonesio.*

19. PARANTEM me semel atque iterum ad proximas tuas  
Literas rescribere, subita quædam negotia, cujusmodi mea  
sunt, ut nosti, præverterunt: postea excucurrisse te in vicina  
20 quædam loca audiveram; nunc discedens in Hyberniam ma-

to higher matters of contemplation. What advantage that retirement affords, however, besides plenty of books, I know not; and those persons you have found there as fit associates in your studies I should suppose to be such rather from their  
5 own natural constitution than from the discipline of the place,—unless perchance, from missing you here, I do less justice to the place for keeping you away. Meanwhile you yourself rightly remark that there are too many there whose occupation it is to spoil divine and human things alike by  
10 their frivolous quibblings, that they may not seem to be doing absolutely nothing for those many endowments by which they are supported so much to the public detriment. All this you will understand better for yourself. Those ancient annals of the Chinese from the Flood downwards which you say are  
15 promised by the Jesuit Martini are doubtless very eagerly expected on account of the novelty of the thing; but I do not see what authority or confirmation they can add to the Mosaic books. Our Cyriack, whom you bade me salute, returns the salutation. Farewell.

20 Westminster: June 25, 1656.

19. *To the Noble Youth*, RICHARD JONES

Preparing again and again to reply to your last letter, I was first prevented, as you know, by some sudden pieces of business, of such a kind as are apt to be mine; then I heard you were off on an excursion to some places in your neighbourhood;  
25 and now your most excellent mother, on her way to Ireland

ter tua præstantissima, cujus discessu uterque nostrum dolere  
haud mediocriter debemus, nam & mihi omnium necessitu-  
dinum loco fuit, has ad te Literas ipsa perfert. Tu vero quod  
de meo erga te studio persuasus es, recte facis; tibi que tanto  
5 plus indies persuadeas velim, quanto plus bonæ indolis, bo-  
næque frugis in te esse, facis ut intelligam. Id quod Deo  
dante, non solum in te recipis, sed quasi ego te sponsione  
laccsissem, facturum te satisdas atque vadaris; & velut judi-  
cium pati & judicatum solvere ni facias, non recusas: delector  
10 sane hâc tuâ de temetipso tam bonâ spe; cui nunc deesse non  
potes; quin simul non promissis modo tuis non stetisse,  
verum etiam vadimonium ipse tuum deseruisse videre.  
Quod scribis non displicere tibi Oxonium, ex eo profecisse te  
quicquam aut sapientiore esse factum, non adducis ut cre-  
15 dam: id mihi longe aliis rebus ostendere debebis. Victorias  
Principum quas laudibus tollis, & res ejusmodi in quibus vis  
plurimum potest, nolim te Philosophos jam audientem nimis  
admirari. Quid enim magnopere mirandum est, si vervecum  
in Patria valida nascantur cornua, quæ urbes & oppida arie-  
20 tare valentissime possint? Tu magna exempla non ex vi &  
robore, sed ex justitia & temperantia, ab ineunte ætate pon-  
derare jam disce atque cognoscere, Vale; meoque fac no-

—whose departure ought to be a matter of no ordinary regret to both of us (for to me also she has stood in the place of all kith and kin)—carries you this letter herself. That you feel assured of my affection for you, right and well; and I would  
5 have you feel daily more and more assured of it, the more of good disposition and of good use of your advantages you give me to see in you. Which result, by God's grace, I see you not only engage for personally, but, as if I had provoked you by a wager on the subject, give solemn pledge and put in bail that  
10 you will accomplish,—not refusing, as it were, to abide judgment, and to pay the penalty of failure if judgment should be given against you. I am truly delighted with this so good hope you have of yourself; which you cannot now be wanting to, without appearing at the same time not only to have been  
15 faithless to your own promises but also to have run away from your bail. As to what you write to the effect that you do not dislike Oxford, you adduce nothing to make me believe that you have got any good there or been made any wiser: you will have to shew me that by very different proofs. Vic-  
20 tories of Princes, which you extol with praises, and matters of that sort in which force is of most avail, I would not have you admire too much, now that you are listening to Philosophers. For what should be the great wonder if in the native land of *wethers* there are born strong horns, able to *ram* down  
25 most powerfully cities and towns? Learn you, already from your early age, to weigh and discern great characters not by force and animal strength, but by justice and temperance. Farewell; and please to give best salutations in my name to

mine, salutem Ornatissimo Viro Henrico Oldenburgo tuo  
Contubernali plurimam dicas.

*Westm. Sept. 21. 1656.*

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*Ornatissimo Adolescenti Petro Heimbachio.*

20. PROMISSA tua, mi Heimbachi, cæteraque omnia, quæ  
5 tua virtus præ se fert, cumulate implevisti, præterquam de-  
siderium meum reditus tui quem intra duos ad summum  
menses fore pollicebaris; nunc, nisi me temporis ratio tui  
cupidum fallit, trimestris pene abes. De Atlante, quod abs  
te petebam, abunde præstitisti; non ut mihi comparares, sed  
10 tantummodo ut pretium Libri minimum indagares: centum  
& triginta Florenos postulari scribis; montem illum opinor  
Mauritanum, non Librum Atlantem, dicis tam immani pre-  
tio coemendum. Ea nunc etiam Typographorum in excu-  
dendis Libris luxuries est, ut Bibliothecæ non minus quam  
15 Villæ sumptuosa supellex jam facta videatur. Mihi certe  
cum pictæ Tabulæ ob cæcitatem usui esse vix possint, dum  
orbem terræ frustra cæcis oculis perlustro, quanti illum Li-  
brum emissem, vereor ne tanti videar lugere potius orbita-  
tem meam. Tu hanc insuper impendas mihi operam, rogo,  
20 ut cum reversus eris, certiore me facere queas, quot sint

the highly accomplished Henry Oldenburg, your chamber-fellow.

Westminster: Sept. 21, 1656.

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20. *To the very accomplished youth, PETER HEIMBACH*

Most amply, my Heimbach, have you fulfilled your promises and all the other expectations one would have of your goodness, with the exception that I have still to long for your return. You promised that it would be within two months at farthest; and now, unless my desire to have you back makes me misreckon the time, you have been absent  
10 nearly three. In the matter of the Atlas you have abundantly performed all I requested of you; which was not that you should procure me one, but only that you should find out the lowest price of the book. You write that they ask 130 florins: it must be the Mauritanian mountain *Atlas*, I think, and not  
15 a book, that you tell me is to be bought at so huge a price. Such is now the luxury of Typographers in printing books that the furnishing of a library seems to have become as costly as the furnishing of a villa. Since to me at least, on account of my blindness, painted maps can hardly be of use, vainly  
20 surveying as I do with blind eyes the actual globe of the earth, I am afraid that the bigger the price at which I should buy that book the greater would seem to me my grief over my deprivation. Be good enough, pray, to take so much farther trouble for me as to be able to inform me, when you return,  
25 how many volumes there are in the complete work, and which



integri operis illius volumina, & duarum Editionum, Blavianæ videlicet & Jansenianæ, utra sit auctior & accuratior: id quod ex teipso jam brevi redituro potius quam ex alteris Literis, coram auditurum me esse spero. Interim vale, teque  
5 nobis quamprimum redde.

*Westmonasterio, Novemb. 8. 1656.*

*Ornatissimo Viro Emerico Bigotio.*

21. Quod in Angliam trajicienti tibi dignus sum visus, quem præter cæteros visendum duceres & salutandum, fuit sane mihi & meritò quidem gratum; quod per Literas tanto  
10 etiam intervallo nunc denuo salutas, id aliquanto fuit gratius. Poteras enim primò aliorum fortassis opinione ductus ad me venisse, per Literas nunc redire, nisi proprio judicio vel saltem benevolentia reductus, vix poteras. Unde est sane, ut posse videar jure mihi gratulari: multi enim scriptis editis  
15 florere, quorum viva vox & consuetudo quotidiana nihil fere prætulit non demissum atque vulgare: ego si id assequi possum, ut si qua commode scripsi, iis par animo ac moribus esse videar; & pondus ipse scriptis addidero, & laudem vicissim, quantulacunque ea est, eo tamen majorem ab ipsis  
20 retulero: cum rectum & laudabile quod est, id non magis ab Authoribus præstantissimis accepisse, quam ab intimo sen-

of the two issues, that of Blaeu or that of Jansen, is the larger and more correct. This I hope to hear from yourself personally, on your speedy return, rather than by another letter. Meanwhile, farewell, and come back to us as soon as you can.

5 Westminster: Nov. 8, 1656.

21. *To the most accomplished* EMERIC BIGOT

That on your coming into England I had the honour of being thought by you more worth visiting and saluting than others was truly and naturally gratifying to me; and that now you renew your salutation by letter, even at such an interval,  
10 is somewhat more gratifying still. For in the first instance you might have come to me perhaps on the inducement of other people's opinion; but you could hardly return to me by letter save at the prompting of your own judgment, or, at least, good will. On this surely I have ground to congratulate  
15 myself. For many have made a figure by their published writings whose living voice and daily conversation have presented next to nothing that was not low and common: if, then, I can attain the distinction of seeming myself equal in mind and manners to any writings of mine that have been tolerably  
20 the purpose, there will be the double effect that I shall so have added weight personally to my writings, and shall receive back by way of reflection from them credit, how small soever it may be, yet greater in proportion. For, in that case, whatever is right and laudable in them, that same I shall seem not  
25 more to have derived from authors of high excellence than to

su mentis atque animi depromsisse purum atque sincerum videbor. De mea igitur animi tranquillitate in hoc tanto luminis detrimento, deque mea in excipiendis exteris hominibus comitate ac studio, persuasum tibi esse gaudeo. Orbita-  
5 tem certe luminis quidni leniter feram, quod non tam amis-  
sum quam revocatum intus atque retractum, ad acuendam potius mentis aciem quam ad hebetandam, sperem. Quo fit, ut neque Literis irascar, nec earum studia penitus intermit-  
tam, etiamsi me tam male multaverint: tam enim morosus  
10 ne sim, Mysorum Regis Telephi saltem exemplum erudiit; qui eo telo, quo vulneratus est, sanari postea non recusavit. Quod ad illum Librum de modo tenendi Parlamenta quem apud te habes, ejus designata loca ex Codice Clarissimi Viri Domini Bradsciavi, nec non ex Codice Cottoniano, vel emén-  
15 danda, vel, dubia si erant, confirmanda curavi; ut ex reddita hic tibi tua chartula perspicias. Quod autem scire cupis, num etiam in arce Londinensi Autographum hujus Libri extet, misi qui id quæreret ex feciali, cui Actorum custodia man-  
data est, & quo ipse utor familiariter: respondit is, nullum  
20 exemplar illius Libri iis in monumentis extare. Tu vicissim quam mihi operam defers in re libraria procuranda, pergratum habeo: desunt mihi ex Byzantinis Historiis, Theophanis Chronographia Græc. Lat. fol. Constant. Manassis Brevi-

have fetched forth pure and sincere from the inmost feelings of my own mind and soul. I am glad, therefore, to know that you are assured of my tranquillity of spirit in this great affliction of loss of sight, and also of the pleasure I have in being  
5 civil and attentive in the reception of visitors from abroad. Why, in truth, should I not bear gently the deprivation of sight, when I may hope that it is not so much lost as revoked and retracted inwards, for the sharpening rather than the blunting of my mental edge? Whence it is that I neither think  
10 of books with anger, nor quite intermit the study of them, grievously though they have mulcted me,—were it only that I am instructed against such moroseness by the example of King Telephus of the Mysians, who refused not to be cured in the end by the weapon that had wounded him. As to that  
15 book you possess, *On the Manner of Holding Parliaments*, I have caused the marked passages of it to be either amended, or, if they were doubtful, confirmed, by reference to the MS. in the possession of the illustrious Lord Bradshaw, and also to the Cotton MS., as you will see from your little paper returned  
20 herewith. In compliance with your desire to know whether also the autograph of this book is extant in the Tower of London, I sent one to inquire of the Herald who has the custody of the Deeds, and with whom I am on familiar terms. His answer is that no copy of that book is extant among those  
25 records. For the help you offer me in return in procuring literary material I am very much obliged. I want, of the Byzantine Historians, *Theophanis Chronographia* (folio: Greek and Latin), *Constantini Manassis Breviarium Historicum*,

arium Historicum, & Codini Excerpta de Antiquit. C. P. Græc. Lat. fol. Anastasii Bibliothecarii Hist. & Vitæ Rom. Pontific. fol. quibus Michaellem Glycam, & Joannem Sinnamum, Annæ Commenæ Continuatorem ex eadem Typographia, si modo prodierunt, rogo adjicias: quàm queas minimo non addo; cum quód, id ut te moneam hominem frugalissimum, non est opus, tum quód pretium eorum Librorum certum esse aiunt, & omnibus notum: nummos D. Stuppius numeratô se tibi curaturum recepit, nec non etiam de Vectura, quæ sit commodissima, provisurum. Ego vero quæ tu vis, quæque optas, cupio tibi omnia. Vale.

*Westmonasterio, Martii 24. 1656.*

*Nobili Adolescenti Richardo Jonesio.*

22. TARDIUS multo accepi Literas tuas quam abs te datæ sunt, post quindecim puto dies quam sepositæ alicubi apud matrem delituissent. Ex quibus tandem studium erga me tuum gratique animi sensum libentissime cognovi: mea certe erga te benevolentia, monitâque fidissima, neque optimæ matris tuæ de me opinioni atque fiduciæ, neque indoli tuæ unquam defuere. Est quidem, ut scribis, amœnitatis atque

with *Codini Excerpta de Antiquitatibus Constantinopolitanis* (folio: Greek and Latin), *Anastasii Bibliothecarii Historia et Vitæ Romanorum Pontificum* (folio); to which be so good as to add, from the same press, *Michael Glycas*, and *Joannes*  
5 *Cinnamus*, the continuator of Anna Comnena, if they are now out. I do not ask you to get them as cheap as you can, both because there is no need to put a very frugal man like yourself in mind of that, and because they tell me the price of these books is fixed and known to all. MR. SROUPE has under-  
10 taken the charge of the money for you in cash, and also to see about the most convenient mode of carriage. That you may have all you wish, and all you aspire after, is my sincere desire. Farewell.

Westminster: March 24, 1656.

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22. *To the Noble Youth*, RICHARD JONES

15 I received your letter much after its date,—not till it had lain, I think, fifteen days, put away somewhere, at your mother's. Most gladly at last I recognized in it your continued affection for me and sense of gratitude. In truth my goodwill to you, and readiness to give you the most faithful admoni-  
20 tions, have never but justified, I hope, both your excellent mother's opinion of me and confidence in me, and your own disposition. There is, indeed, as you write, plenty of amenity and salubrity in the place where you now are; there are books enough for the needs of a University: if only the amenity of  
25 the spot contributed as much to the genius of the inhabitants

salubritatis eo in loco, quo nunc recessisti, est & Librorum quod Academiæ satis esse possit; si ad ingenium incolarum tantum conferret ista soli amœnitas, quantum ad delicias confert, ad felicitatem illius loci nihil deesse videretur. Et  
5 Bibliotheca etiam illic instructissima est; verum nisi studiosorum mentes Disciplinis optimis instructiores inde redantur, Apothecam Librorum illam quam Bibliothecam rectius dixeris. Oportere itaque ad hæc omnia discendi animum atque industriam accedere percommode sane agnoscis. Tu  
10 ex ista sententia, nequando tecum agere necesse habeam, etiam atque etiam vide; id facillimo negotio evitabis, si Ornatissimi Viri Henrici Oldenburgi qui tibi præsto est, gravissimis atque amicissimis præceptis diligenter parueris. Vale mi Richarde dilectissime, & ad Virtutem ac Pietatem, Matris  
15 præstantissimæ Fœminæ exemplo, veluti Timotheum alterum, sinito te adhorter atque accendam.

*Westmonasterio.*

*Illustrissimo Domino Henrico de Brass.*

23. VIDEO te, Domine, id quod perpauci ex hodierna juventute faciunt, qui oras externas perlustrant, non juveniliū  
20 studiorum sed amplioris undique comparandæ eruditionis causâ, veterum exemplo Philosophorum, recte & sapienter peregrinari. Quanquam ea quæ scribis quoties intueor, ad eruditionem non tam aliunde capiendam, quam aliis impertiendam, ad commutandas potius, quam ad coemendas  
25 bonas merces, accessisse ad externos videris. Atque utinam

as it does to pleasant living, nothing would seem wanting to the happiness of the place. The Library there, too, is splendidly rich; but, unless the minds of the students are made more instructed by means of it in the best kinds of study, you might  
5 more properly call it a book-warehouse than a Library. Most justly you acknowledge that to all these helps there must be added a spirit for learning and habits of industry. Take care, and steady care, that I may never have occasion to find you in a different state of mind; and this you will most easily avoid  
10 if you diligently obey the weighty and friendly precepts of the highly accomplished Henry Oldenburg beside you. Farewell, my well-beloved Richard; and allow me to exhort and incite you to virtue and piety, like another Timothy, by the example of that most exemplary woman, your mother.

15 Westminster.

23. *To the Very Distinguished Mr. HENRY DE BRASS*

I see, Sir, that you, unlike most of our modern youth in their surveys of foreign lands, travel rightly and wisely, after the fashion of the old philosophers, not for ordinary youthful quests, but with a view to the acquisition of fuller erudition  
20 from every quarter. Yet, as often as I look at what you write, you appear to me to be one who has come among strangers not so much to receive knowledge as to impart it to others, to barter good merchandise rather than to buy it. I wish indeed it were as easy for me to assist and promote in every way those  
25 excellent studies of yours as it is pleasant and gratifying to



mihi tam facile esset, ista tua præclara studia rebus omnibus  
adjuvare ac promovere, quam est jucundum sane & pergra-  
tum tuam egregiam indolem id à me petere. Quod scribis  
tamen statuisse te ut ad me scriberes, meaque responsa pe-  
5 teres ad eas difficultates enucleandas, circa quas à multis  
sæculis Historiarum Scriptores videntur caligasse, nihil equi-  
dem hujusmodi neque unquam mihi sumpsi, neque ausim  
sumere. De Sallustio quod scribis, dicam libere, quoniam  
ita vis plane ut dicam quod sentio, Sallustium cuivis Latino  
10 Historico me quidem anteferre; quæ etiam constans fere  
Antiquorum sententia fuit. Habet suas laudes tuus Tacitus;  
sed eas meo quidem judicio maximas, quod Sallustium ner-  
vis omnibus sit imitatus. Cum hæc tecum coram dissererem,  
perfecisse videor, quantum ex eo quod scribis conjicio, ut de  
15 illo cordatissimo Scriptore ipse jam idem prope sentias: adeó-  
que ex me quæris, cum is in exordio Belli Catilinarii per-  
difficile esse dixerit Historiam scribere, propterea quod facta  
dictis exæquanda sunt, qua potissimum ratione id assequi  
Historiarum scriptorem posse existimem. Ego vero sic ex-  
20 istimo; qui gestas res dignas digne scripserit, eum animo  
non minus magno rerumque usu præditum scribere oportere,  
quam is qui eas gesserit: ut vel maximas pari animo  
comprehendere atque metiri possit, & comprehensas ser-

have such help asked by a person of your uncommon talents.

As for the resolution you say you have taken to write to me and request my answers towards solving those difficulties about which for many ages writers of Histories seem to have  
5 been in the dark, I have never assumed anything of the kind as within my powers, nor should I dare now to do so. In the matter of Sallust, which you refer to me, I will say freely, since you wish me to tell plainly what I do think, that I prefer Sallust to any other Latin historian; which also was the  
10 almost uniform opinion of the Ancients. Your favourite Tacitus has his merits; but the greatest of them, in my judgment, is that he imitated Sallust with all his might. As far as I can gather from what you write, it appears that the result of my discourse with you personally on this subject has been  
15 that you are now nearly of the same mind with me respecting that most admirable writer; and hence it is that you ask me, with reference to what he has said, in the introduction to his *Catilinarian War*—as to the extreme difficulty of writing History, from the obligation that the expressions should be  
20 proportional to the deeds—by what method I think a writer of History might attain that perfection. This, then, is my view: that he who would write of worthy deeds worthily must write with mental endowments and experience of affairs not less than were in the doer of the same, so as to be able with  
25 equal mind to comprehend and measure even the greatest of them, and, when he has comprehended them, to relate them distinctly and gravely in pure and chaste speech. That he should do so in ornate style, I do not much care about; for I

mone puro atque casto distincte gravitérque narrare: nam ut ornatè, non admodum laboro; Historicum enim, non Oratorem requiro. Crebras etiam sententias, & judicia de rebus gestis interjecta prolixè nollem, ne, interrupta rerum  
5 serie, quod Politici Scriptoris munus est Historicus invadat; qui si in consiliis explicandis, factisque enarrandis, non suum ingenium aut conjecturam, sed veritatem potissimum sequitur, suarum profecto partium satagit. Addiderim & illud Sallustianum, qua in re ipse Catonem maxime laudavit, posse  
10 multa paucis absolvere; id quod sine acerrimo iudicio, atque etiam temperantiâ quâdam neminem posse arbitror. Sunt multi in quibus vel sermonis elegantiam, vel congestarum rerum copiam non desideres; qui brevitatè cum copia conjunxerit, id est, qui multa paucis absolverit, princeps meo  
15 iudicio Latinorum est Sallustius. Has ego virtutes Historico inesse putem oportere, qui facta dictis exæquaturum se speret. Verum quid ego tibi ista? ad quæ tu ipse, quo es ingenio, per te sufficis; quique eam ingressus es viam, in qua si pergis, neminem te ipso doctiorem poteris brevi consulere:  
20 & uti pergas, quanquam tibi hortatu non opus est cujusquam, ne omnino tamen nihil pro expectatione tua respondisse videar, quantum valere me auctoritate apud te sinis, hortor magnopere atque auctor sum. Vale, tuâque virtute & sapientiæ acquirendæ studio macte esto.

*Westmonasterio, Idibus Quintil. 1657.*

want a Historian, not an Orator. Nor yet would I have frequent maxims, or criticisms on the transactions, prolixly thrown in, lest, by interrupting the thread of events, the Historian should invade the office of the Political Writer: for, if  
5 the Historian, in explicating counsels and narrating facts, follows truth most of all, and not his own fancy or conjecture, he fulfils his proper duty. I would add also that characteristic of Sallust, in respect of which he himself chiefly praised Cato,—to be able to throw off a great deal in few words: a  
10 thing which I think no one can do without the sharpest judgment and a certain temperance at the same time. There are many in whom you will not miss either elegance of style or abundance of information; but for conjunction of brevity with abundance, i.e., for the despatch of much in few words,  
15 the chief of the Latins, in my judgment, is Sallust. Such are the qualities that I think should be in the Historian that would hope to make his expressions proportional to the facts he records.

But why all this to you, who are sufficient, with the talent  
20 you have, to make it all out, and who, if you persevere in the road you have entered, will soon be able to consult no one more learned than yourself. That you do persevere, though you require no one's advice for that, yet, that I may not seem to have altogether failed in replying correspondingly with the  
25 value you are pleased to put upon my authority with you, is my earnest exhortation and suggestion. Farewell; and all success to your real worth, and your zeal for acquiring wisdom.

Westminster: July 15, 1657.

*Henrico Oldenburgo.*

24. Quod Salmurium peregrinationis vestræ, ut puto,  
sedem incolumes pervenistis, gaudeo: hoc enim te non fe-  
fellit, id mihi imprimis gratissimum fore; ut qui & te merito  
tuo diligam, & suscepti itineris causam tam esse honestam  
5 atque laudabilem sciam. Quod autem audisti accersitum  
Ecclesiæ tam illustri erudiendæ Antistitem tam infamem,  
id mallem quivis alius in Charontis, quam tu in Charetonis  
cymba audîsses: verendum enim est valde, ne toto cœlo de-  
vius frustretur, quisquis tam fœdo auspice perventurum se  
10 unquam ad superos putat. Væ illi Ecclesiæ (Deus modo  
avertat omen) ubi tales Ministri aurium causâ potissimum  
placent, quos Ecclesia, si reformata vere vult dici, ejiceret  
rectius quam cooptaret. Quod Scripta nostra nemini nisi  
poscenti impertîsti, recte tu quidem & eleganter, neque ex  
15 mea solum, sed etiam ex Horatiana Sententia fecisti;

Ne studio nostri pecces, odiumque libellis  
Sedulus importes operâ vehemente.———

Commorabatur vir doctus quidam, familiaris meus, superi-  
ore ætate Salmurii; is ad me scripsit, librum illum iis in  
20 locis expeti: unum exemplar duntaxat misi; rescripsit, pla-

24. *To* HENRY OLDENBURG

I am glad you have arrived safe at Saumur, the goal of your travel, as I believe. You are not mistaken in thinking the news would be very agreeable to me in particular, who both love you for your own merit, and know the cause of  
5 your undertaking the journey to be so honourable and praiseworthy.

As to the news you have heard, that so infamous a priest has been called to instruct so illustrious a church, I had rather any one else had heard it in Charon's boat than you in that of  
10 Charenton; for it is mightily to be feared that whoever thinks to get to heaven under the auspices of so foul a guide will be a whole world awry in his calculations. Woe to that church (only God avert the omen!) where such ministers please, mainly by tickling the ears,—ministers whom the Church,  
15 if she would truly be called Reformed, would more fitly cast out than desire to bring in.

In not having given copies of my writings to any one that does not ask for them, you have done well and discreetly, not in my opinion alone, but also in that of Horace:

20                   Err not by zeal for us, nor on our books  
                      Draw hatred by too vehement care.

A learned man, a friend of mine, spent last summer at Saumur. He wrote to me that the book was in demand in those parts; I sent only one copy; he wrote back that some of  
25 the learned to whom he had lent it had been pleased with it

citum esse aliquot doctis, quibuscum communicaverat, ut nihil supra. Nisi iis rem gratam facturum me fuisse existissem, parsissem utique & tuo oneri & sumptui meo. Verum,

- 5 Si te forte meæ gravis uret sarcina chartæ,  
Abjicito potius, quam, quo perferre juberis,  
Clitellas ferus impingas.——

Laurentio nostro, ut jussisti, salutem nomine tuo dixi: de cætero, nihil est quod abs te prius agi, priusve curare velim,  
10 quam ut tu atque alumnus tuus recte valeatis, votorumque compotes ad nos quamprimum redeatis.

*Westmonasterio, Calend. Sextil. 1657.*

*Nobili Adolescenti Richardo Jonesio.*

25. CONFECISSE te sine incommodo tam longum iter, & spretis Lutetiarum illecebris, tanta celeritate eò contendisse,  
15 ubi literato otio, doctorumque consuetudine frui possis, & magnopere lætor, & te tuæ indolis laudo. Illis quoad te continebis in portu eris; Syrtes & Scopulos, & Sirenum cantus alias tibi cavendum. Quin & vindemiam, quâ oblectare te cogitas, Salmuriensem nimium sitire te nolim, nisi in animo  
20 quoque sit, mustum illud Liberi liberiore Musarum latice

hugely. Had I not thought I should be doing a thing agreeable to them, I should have spared you trouble and myself expense. But,

5           If chance my load of paper galls your back,  
          Off with it now, rather than in the end  
          Dash down the panniers cursing.

To our Lawrence, as you bade me, I have given greetings in your name. For the rest, there is nothing I should wish you to do or care for more than see that yourself and your  
10 pupil get on in good health, and that you return to us as soon as possible with all your wishes fulfilled.

Westminster: Aug. 1, 1657.

25. *To the noble youth*, RICHARD JONES

That you made out so long a journey without inconvenience, and that, spurning the allurements of Paris, you have so  
15 quickly reached your present place of residence, where you can enjoy literary leisure and the society of learned persons, I am both heartily glad, and set down to the credit of your disposition. There, so far as you keep yourself in bounds, you will be in harbour; elsewhere you would have to beware the  
20 Syrtes, the Rocks, and the songs of the Sirens. All the same I would not have you thirst too much after the Saumur vintage, with which you think to delight yourself, unless it be also your intention to dilute that juice of Bacchus, more than a fifth part, with the freer cup of the Muses. But to such a



quinta plus parte diluere. Verum ad hæc, me etiam tacente, hortatorem habes eximium, quem si audis, tibimet profecto optime consulueris, & præstantissimam parentem tuam summo gaudio, & crescente indies amore tui affeceris. Quod  
5 uti facere possis, à Deo Opt. Max. petere quotidie debes. Vale, & ad nos quam optimus, bonisque artibus quam cultissimus, fac redeas: id mihi præter cæteros jucundissimum erit.

*Westmonasterio, Calend. Sextil. 1657.*

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*Illustrissimo Domino Henrico de Brass.*

10 26. IMPEDITUS per hosce dies occupationibus quibusdam, Illustrissime Domine, serius rescribo quam volebam. Volebam enim eo citius, quod Literas tuas multâ jam nunc eruditione plenas, non tam præcipiendi tibi quicquam (id quod à me honoris credo mei, non usus tui causâ postulas) quam  
15 gratulandi duntaxat, reliquisse mihi locum videbam. Gratulor autem & mihi imprimis felicitatem meam, qui Sallustii sententiam ita commode explicasse videar, & tibi tam assiduam illius auctoris sapientissimi tanto cum fructu lectionem. De quo idem tibi ausim confirmare quod de Cicerone  
20 Quintilianus, sciat se haud parum in re Historica profecisse cui placeat Sallustius. Illud autem Aristotelis præceptum ex Rhetoricorum tertio quod explicatum cupis, Sententiis

course, even if I were silent, you have a first-rate adviser; by listening to whom you will indeed consult best for your own good, and cause great joy to your most excellent mother, and a daily growth of her love for you. Which that you may accomplish you ought every day to petition Almighty God. Farewell; and see that you return to us as good as possible, and as cultured as possible in good arts. That will be to me, beyond others, a most delightful result.

Westminster: Aug. 1, 1657.

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26. *To the very distinguished* MR. HENRY DE BRASS

10 Having been hindered these days past by some occupation, illustrious Sir, I reply later than I meant. For I meant to do so all the more speedily because I saw that your present letter, full of learning as it is, did not so much leave me room for suggesting anything to you (a thing which you ask of  
15 me, I believe, out of compliment to me, not for your own need) as for simple congratulation. I congratulate myself especially on my good fortune in having, as it appears, so suitably explained Sallust's meaning, and you on your so careful perusal of that most wise author with so much benefit  
20 from the same. Respecting him I would venture to make the same assertion to you as Quintilian made respecting Cicero,—that a man may know himself no mean proficient in the business of History who enjoys his Sallust. As for that precept of Aristotle's in the Third Book of his Rhetoric which you would  
25 like explained—'Use is to be made of maxims both in the nar-

utendum est in narratione & in fide, moratum enim est; non video quid habeat magnopere explicandum, modo ut narratio & fides, quæ & probatio dici solet, ea hic intelligatur, quâ Rhetor, non quâ Historicus utitur: diversæ enim  
 5 sunt partes Rhetoris & Historici, sive narrant, sive probant; quemadmodum & Artes ipsæ inter se diversæ sunt. Quid autem conveniat Historico, ex Auctoribus antiquis Polybio, Halicarnassæo, Diodoro, Cicerone, Luciano, aliisque multis, qui ea de re præcepta quædam sparsim tradidere, rectius di-  
 10 diceris. Ego vero & studiis tuis & itineribus secunda omnia atque tuta exopto, dignósque successus eo animo ac diligentia, quam rebus quibusque optimis adhibere te video. Vale.

*Westmonasterio, Decemb. 16. 1657.*

*Ornatissimo Viro Petro Heimbachio.*

27. LITERAS tuas Hagâ Comitatis dat. 18. Dec. accepi: ad  
 15 quas, quoniam id tuis rationibus expedire video, eodem die, quo mihi sunt redditæ, rescribendum putavi. In iis post gratias actas ob beneficia nescio quæ mea, quæ vellem sane non essent nulla, ut qui tua causa quidvis cupiam, petis ut te per D. Laurentium Oratori nostro in Hollandiam designato commendarem: quod quidem doleo in me situm non  
 20 esse; cum propter paucissimas familiaritates meas cum gra-

rative of a case and in the pleading, for it has a moral effect'—  
I see not what it has in it that much needs explanation: only  
that the *narration* and the *pleading* (which last is usually also  
called the *proof*) are here understood to be such as the Orator  
5 uses, not the Historian; for the parts of the Orator and the  
Historian are different whether they narrate or prove, just as  
the Arts themselves are different. What is suitable for the his-  
torian you will have learnt more correctly from the ancient  
authors, Polybius, the Halicarnassian, Diodorus, Cicero, Lu-  
10 cian, and many others, who have handed down certain stray  
precepts concerning that subject. For me, I wish you heartily  
all happiness in your studies and travels, and success worthy  
of the spirit and diligence which I see you employ on every-  
thing of high excellence. Farewell.

15 Westminster: December 16, 1657.

27. *To the highly accomplished* PETER HEIMBACH

I have received your letter dated the Hague, Dec. 18,  
which, as I see it concerns your interests, I have thought I  
ought to answer on the very day it has reached me. After  
thanking me for I know not what favours of mine,—which,  
20 as one who desires everything good for you, I would were  
really of any consideration at all,—you ask me to recommend  
you, through Lord Lawrence, to our Minister appointed for  
Holland. I really regret that this is not in my power, both be-  
cause of my very few intimacies with the men of influence,  
25 almost shut up at home as I am, and as I prefer to be, and also

tiosis, qui domi fere, idque libenter me contineo; tum quod is credo, è portu jam solvit, jamque adventat, secumque habet in comitatu quem sibi ab epistolis vult esse, quod tu munus apud eum petis. Verum in ipso discessu jam Tabel-  
 5 larius est. Vale.

*Westmonasterio, Decemb. 18, 1657.*

*Joanni Badio Pastori Arausionensi.*

28. Quod tardius ad te rescribo, Vir Clarissime & reverende, non recusabit, credo, noster Duræus, quo minus tardioris culpam rescriptionis à me in ipsum transferam.  
 10 Postea enim quam schedulæ illius, quam mihi recitatam volebas, de iis quæ Evangelii causâ egisses atque perpessus esses, copiam mihi fecit, non distuli parare has ad te literas ut ei darem Tabellario, qui primus discessisset, sollicitus quam in partem silentium meum tam diuturnum interpre-  
 15 tarere. Maximam interim habeo gratiam Molinæo vestro Nemausensi, qui suis de me sermonibus & amicissima prædicatione, tot per ea loca bonorum virorum me in gratiam immisit. Et sane quanquam non sum nescius, me vel eo quod cum adversario tanti nominis publice jussus certamen  
 20 non detrectaverim, vel propter argumenti celebritatem, vel denique scribendi genus longe latèque satis innotuisse; sic tamen existimo, me tantundem duntaxat habere famæ, quantum habeo bonæ existimationis apud bonos. Atque in eadem te quoque esse sententia, plane video; qui Veritatis Christi-

because I believe the gentleman is now embarking and on his way, and has with him in his company the person he wishes to be his Secretary—the very office about him you seek. But the post is this instant going. Farewell.

5 Westminster: December 18, 1657.

28. *To JEAN LABADIE, Minister of Orange*

If I answer you rather late, distinguished and reverend Sir, our common friend Durie, I believe, will not refuse to let me transfer the blame of the late answer from myself to him. For, now that he has communicated to me that paper which  
10 you wished read to me, on the subject of your doings and sufferings in behalf of the Gospel, I have not deferred preparing this letter for you, to be given to the first carrier, being really anxious as to the interpretation you may put upon my long silence. I owe very great thanks meanwhile to your Du Mou-  
15 lin of Nismes, who, by his speeches and most friendly talk concerning me, has procured me the goodwill of so many good men in those parts. And truly, though I am not ignorant that, whether from the fact that I did not, when publicly commissioned, decline the contest with an adversary of such name,  
20 or on account of the celebrity of the subject, or, finally, on account of my style of writing, I have become sufficiently known far and wide, yet my feeling is that I have real fame only in proportion to the good esteem I have among good men. That you also are of this way of thinking I see plainly—you who,  
25 kindled by the regard and love of Christian Truth, have borne

anæ studio atque amore accensus, tot labores pertuleris, tot  
hostes sustinueris; eaque quotidie fortiter facias, quibus tan-  
tum abest, ut ullam ab improbis famam tibi quæras, ut  
eorum certissima odia & maledicta in te concitare non vere-  
5 aris. O te beatum! quem Deus unum ex tot millibus viro-  
rum, aliqui sapientum atque doctorum, ex ipsis inferorum  
portis ac faucibus ereptum, ad tam insignem atque intrepidi-  
dam Evangelii sui professionem evocavit. Et habeo nunc  
quidem cur putem Dei voluntate singulari factum, ut ad te  
10 citius non rescriberem: cum enim intelligerem ex Literis  
tuis, te ab infestis undique hostibus petitem atque obsessum,  
circumspicere, & meritò quidem, quo te posses in extremo  
discrimine, si ita res tulisset, recipere, & Angliam tibi in  
primis placuisse, gaudebam equidem non uno nomine, te id  
15 consilii cepisse; cum tui potiundi spe, tum te de mea patria  
tam præclare sentire: illud dolebam, non tum vidisse me  
unde tibi hic apud nos præsertim Anglice nescienti, pro eo  
ac deceret prospectum esse posset. Nunc vero peroportune  
accidit ut Minister quidam Gallicus ætate confectus, ante  
20 paucos dies è vita migraverit. In ista Ecclesia qui plurimum  
possunt, teque illis in locis non satis tuto versari intelligunt  
(non hoc incertis rumoribus collectum, sed ex ipsis auditum  
refero) cooptatum te illius Ministri in locum summopere

so many labours, sustained the attacks of so many enemies, and who bravely do such actions every day as prove that, so far from seeking any fame from the bad, you do not fear rousing against you their most certain hatred and maledictions. O  
5 happy man thou! whom God, from among so many thousands, otherwise knowing and learned, has snatched singly from the very gates and jaws of Hell, and called to such an illustrious and intrepid profession of his Gospel! And at this moment I have cause for thinking that it has happened by the  
10 singular providence of God that I did not reply to you sooner. For, when I understood from your letter that, assailed and besieged as you are on all hands by bitter enemies, you were looking round, and no wonder, to see where you might, in the last extremity, should it come to that, find a suitable ref-  
15 uge, and that England was most to your mind, I rejoiced on more accounts than one that you had come to this conclusion, —one reason being the hope of having you here, and another the delight that you should have so high an opinion of my country; but the joy was counterbalanced by the regret that I  
20 did not then see any prospect of a becoming provision for you among us here, especially as you do not know English. Now, however, it has happened most opportunely that a certain French minister here, of great age, died a few days ago. The persons of most influence in the congregation, understanding  
25 that you are by no means safe where you are at present, are very desirous (I report this not from vague rumour, but on information from themselves) to have you chosen to the place of that minister: in fact, they invite you; they have resolved



cupiunt, immo invitant; sumptusque itineris suppeditandos tibi decrevêrunt; atque ita tibi de re familiari provisum iri pollicentur, ut Ministrorum apud nos Gallicorum nemini melius; nec tibi quicquam defore, quod ad munus Evangelicum apud se libenter obeundum possit conducere. Quare advola quamprimum, si me audis, Vir Reverende, ad cupidissimos tui, messem hic messurus, etsi commodorum hujus mundi fortasse non ita uberem, tamen, quam tui similes potissimum exoptant, animarum, ut spero, numerosam: tibi-  
10 que persuadeas, te viris bonis omnibus expectatissimum esse venturum; & quanto citius, tanto gratiorem. Vale.

*Westmonasterio, April. 21. 1659.*

*Henrico Oldenburgo.*

29. SILENTII, quam petis veniam tui, dabis potius mei; cujus erant, si memini, respondendi vices. Me certe non  
15 imminuta erga te voluntas, hoc enim persuasissimum tibi esse velim, sed vel studia, vel curæ domesticæ impediverant, vel ipsa fortasse ad scribendum pigritia, intermissi officii reum facit. Quod scire cupis, valeo equidem, Deo juvante, ut soleo: ab historia nostrorum motuum concinnanda, quod hortari videris, longe absum; sunt enim silentio digniores quam  
20 præconio: nec nobis qui motuum historiam concinnare, sed qui motus ipsos componere foeliciter possit, est opus: tecum enim vereor ne libertatis ac religionis hostibus nunc nuper

to pay the expenses of your journey; they promise that you shall have an income equal to the best of any French minister here, and that nothing shall be wanting that can contribute to your pleasant discharge of the pastoral duty among them.

- 5 Wherefore, take my advice, Reverend Sir, and fly hither as soon as possible, to people who are anxious to have you, and where you will reap a harvest, not perhaps so rich in the goods of this world, but, as men like you most desire, numerous, I hope, in souls; and be assured that you will be most  
10 welcome here to all good men, and the sooner the better. Farewell.

Westminster: April 21, 1659.

29. To HENRY OLDENBURG

- That forgiveness which you ask for *your* silence you will give rather to *mine*; for, if I remember rightly, it was my turn  
15 to write to you. By no means has it been any diminution of my regard for you (of this I would have you fully persuaded) that has been the impediment, but only my employments or domestic cares; or perhaps it is mere sluggishness to the act of writing that makes me guilty of the intermitted duty. As  
20 you desire to be informed, I am, by God's mercy, as well as usual. Of any such work as compiling the history of our political troubles, which you seem to advise, I have no thought whatever: they are worthier of silence than of commemoration. What is needed is not one to compile a good history of  
25 our troubles, but one who can happily end the troubles them-

sociatis, nimis opportuni inter has nostras Civiles discordias vel potius insanias, videamur; verum non illi gravius, quam nosmetipsi jamdiu flagitiis nostris, religioni vulnus intulerint. Sed Deus, uti spero, propter se Gloriamque suam, quæ  
5 nunc agitur, consilia impetusque hostium ex ipsorum sententia succedere non sinet, quicquid Reges & Cardinales turbarum meditentur aut struant. Synodo interea Protestantium Laodunensi, propediem, ut scribis, convocandæ, precor id, quod nulli adhuc Synodo contigit, fœlicem exitum, non  
10 Nazianzenicum; fœlicem autem huic nunc satis futurum, si nihil aliud decreverit, quam ejiciendum esse Morum. De adversario Posthumus simul ac prodierit, fac me, rogo, primo quoque tempore certiolem. Vale.

*Westmon. Decemb. 20. 1659.*

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*Nobili Adolescenti Richardo Jonesio.*

15 30. Quod longo intervallo ad me scribis, modestissime tu quidem te excusas, qui possis ejusdem delicti me rectius accusare: ut haud sciam profecto utrum non deliquisse te, an sic excusasse, maluerim. Illud tibi in mentem cave veniat;

selves; for, with you, I fear lest, amid these our civil discords, or rather sheer madresses, we shall seem to the lately confederated enemies of Liberty and Religion a too fit object of attack, though in truth they have not yet inflicted a severer  
5 wound on Religion than we ourselves have been long doing by our crimes. But God, as I hope, on His own account, and for his own glory, now in question, will not allow the counsels and onsets of the enemy to succeed as they themselves wish, whatever convulsions Kings and Cardinals meditate  
10 and design. Meanwhile, for the Protestant Synod of Loudun, which you tell me is so soon to meet, I pray—what has never happened to any Synod yet—a happy issue, not of the Nazianzenian sort, and am of opinion that the issue of this one will be happy enough if, should they decree nothing else, they  
15 should decree the expulsion of Morus. Of my posthumous adversary, as soon as he makes his appearance, be good enough to give me the earliest information. Farewell.

Westminster: December 20, 1659.

30. *To the Noble Youth*, RICHARD JONES

For the long break in your correspondence with me your ex-  
20 cuses are truly most modest, inasmuch as you might with more justice accuse me of the same fault; and, as the case stands, I am really at a loss to know whether I should have preferred your not having been in fault to your having apologized so finely. On no account let it ever come into your mind that  
25 I measure your gratitude, if anything of the kind is due to me

me gratitudinem tuam, si qua mihi abs te debetur, Literarum assiduitate metiri: tum te gratissimum adversus me esse sensero, cum mea erga te quæ prædicas merita, non tam in Literis crebris, quam in optimis perpetuo studiis tuis ac laudibus apparebunt. Viam virtutis quidem, in illo orbis terrarum Gymnasio quod es ingressus, recte fecisti; sed viam scito illam virtutis ac vitii communem; illuc progrediendum, ubi via in bivium se scindit. Teque sic comparare jam nunc mature debes, ut relictâ hâc communi, amœnâ ac floridâ, illam arduam ac difficilem, qui solius virtutis clivus est, tuâ sponte libentius, etiam cum labore ac periculo, possis ascendere. Id tu præ aliis multo facilius, mihi crede, poteris, qui tam fidum ac peritum nactus es itineris Ducem. Vale.

*Westmonasterio, Decemb. 20. 1659.*

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*Ornatissimo Viro Petro Heimbachio, Electoris  
Brandenburgici Consiliario.*

31. Si inter tot Funera Popularium meorum, anno tam gravi ac pestilenti, abreptum me quoque, ut scribis, ex rumore præsertim aliquo credidisti, mirum non est; atque ille rumor apud vestros, ut videtur, homines, si ex eo quod de salute mea solliciti essent, increbuit, non displicet; indicium enim suæ erga me benevolentiae fuisse existimo. Sed Dei

from you, by your constancy in letter-writing. My feeling of your gratitude to me will be strongest when the fruits of those services of mine to you of which you speak shall appear not so much in frequent letters as in your perseverance and  
5 laudable proficiency in excellent pursuits. You have rightly marked out for yourself the path of virtue in that theatre of the world on which you have entered; but remember that the path is common so far to virtue and vice, and that you have yet to advance to where the path divides itself into two.  
10 And you ought now betimes to prepare yourself for leaving this common path, pleasant and flowery, and for being able the more readily, with your own will, though with labour and danger, to climb that arduous and difficult one which is the slope of virtue only. For this you have great advantages  
15 over others, believe me, in having secured so faithful and skilful a guide. Farewell.

Westminster: December 20, 1659.

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31. *To the very distinguished PETER HEIMBACH, Councillor to the Elector of Brandenburg*

Small wonder if, in the midst of so many deaths of my countrymen, in a year of such heavy pestilence, you believed,  
20 as you write you did, on the faith of some special rumour, that I also had been cut off. Such a rumour among your people is not displeasing, if it was the occasion of making known the fact that they were anxious for my safety, for then I can regard it as a sign of their goodwill to me. But, by  
25 the blessing of God, who had provided for my safety in a

benignitate, qui tutum mihi receptum in agris paraverat, & vivo adhuc & valeo; utinam ne inutilis, quicquid muneris in hac vita restat mihi peragendum. Tibi vero tam longo intervallo venisse in mentem mei, pergratum est; quanquam,  
5 prout rem verbis exornas, præbere aliquam suspicionem videris, oblitum mei te potius esse, qui tot virtutum diversarum conjugium in me, ut scribis, admirere. Ego certe ex tot conjugiiis numerosam nimis prolem expavescerem, nisi constaret in re arcta, rebusque duris, virtutes ali maxime & vigeré:  
10 tametsi earum una non ita belle charitatem hospitii mihi reddidit: quam enim Politicam tu vocas, ego Pietatem in Patriam dictam abs te mallet, ea me pulchro nomine delinitum prope, ut ita dicam, expatriavit. Reliquarum tamen chorus clare concinit. Patria est, ubicunque est bene. Finem  
15 faciam, si hoc prius abs te impetravero, ut, si quid mendose descriptum aut non interpunctum repereris, id puero, qui hæc excepit, Latine prorsus nescienti velis imputare; cui singulas plane Literulas annumerare non sine miseria dictans cogebar. Tua interim Viri merita, quem ego adolescentem  
20 spei eximiæ cognovi, ad tam honestum in Principis gratia provexisse te locum, gaudeo, cæteraque fausta omnia & cupio tibi, & spero. Vale.

*Londini, August 15. 1666.*

country retreat, I am still both alive and well, nor useless yet, I hope, for any duty that remains to be performed by me in this life.—That after so long an interval I should have come into your mind is very agreeable; although, from your exuberant expression of the matter, you seem to afford some ground for suspecting that you have rather forgotten me, professing as you do such an admiration of the marriage-union in me of so many different virtues. Truly, I should dread a too numerous progeny from so many forms of the marriage-union as you enumerate, were it not an established truth that virtues are nourished most and flourish most in straitened and hard circumstances; albeit I may say that one of the virtues on your list has not very handsomely requited to me the hospitable reception she had. For what you call *policy*, but I would rather have you call *loyalty to one's country*,—this particular lass, after inveigling me with her fair name, has almost expatriated me, so to speak. The chorus of the rest, however, makes a very fine harmony. One's country is wherever it is well with one.—And now I will conclude, after first begging you, if you find anything incorrectly written or without punctuation here, to impute that to the boy who has taken it down from my dictation, and who is utterly ignorant of Latin, so that I was forced, while dictating, not without misery, to spell out the letters of the words one by one. Meanwhile I am glad that the merits of one whom I knew as a young man of excellent hope have raised him to so honourable a place in his Prince's favour; and I desire and hope all prosperity for you otherwise. Farewell!

London, Aug. 15, 1666.





# PROLUSIONES QUÆDAM ORATORIÆ

# *Joannis Miltonii Prolusiones quædam Oratoriæ.*

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## *In Collegio, &c.*

*Utrum Dies an Nox præstantior sit?*

**S**CRIPtum post se reliquere passim Nobilissimi quique Rhetoricæ Magistri, quod nec vos præteriit, Academici, in unoquoque dicendi genere, sive demonstrativo, sive deliberativo, sive judiciali, ab aucupanda Auditorum gratia exordium duci oportere; alioqui nec permoveri posse Auditorum animos, nec causam ex sententia succedere. Quod si res ita est, quam sane, ne vera dissimulem, Eruditorum omnium consensu fixum ratumque novi, miserum me! ad quantas ego hodie redactus sum Angustias! qui in  
10 ipso Orationis Limine vereor ne aliquid prolaturus sim minime Oratorium, & ab officio Oratoris primo & præcipuo necesse habeam abscedere. Etenim quâ possim ego vestram sperare benevolentiam, cum in hoc tanto concursu, quot oculis intueor tot ferme aspiciam infesta in me capita; adeo

# Some Oratorical Exercises

of

## JOHN MILTON

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### I.

IN COLLEGE, etc.

*Whether Day is more excellent than Night*

ALL of the most distinguished teachers of rhetoric far and wide have left behind the opinion — a fact which has not escaped your notice, my fellow students — that in every kind of speaking, whether demonstrative or deliberative or judicial, the exordium ought to be occupied with securing the goodwill of the listeners; otherwise the minds of the audience could not be persuaded nor could the cause be triumphant as one might wish. But if such is the fact, which — may I not depart from the truth — I know is surely fixed and established by the agreement of all scholars, have mercy on me! To what desperate straits am I reduced this day! I, who at the very beginning of my speech fear lest I may advance something not at all worthy of orators and lest I should have deviated unavoidably from the primary and principal duty of a speaker; indeed, how can I expect your goodwill, when, in this great assembly, I perceive almost as many persons hostile to me as I behold with my eyes? Hence it is that I seem to come as an orator to those who are inexor-

ut Orator venisse videar ad non exorabiles. Tantum potest ad similitudines etiam in Scholis æmulatio, vel diversa Studia, vel in eisdem studiis diversa iudicia sequentium; ego vero sollicitus non sum,

- 5 Ne mihi *Polydamas* & *Troïades* Labeonem Prætulerint;  
Nugæ.

Veruntamen ne penitus despondeam animum, sparsim video, ni fallor, qui mihi ipso aspectu tacito, quam bene velint, haud obscure significant; a quibus etiam quantumvis paucis,  
10 equidem probari malo quam ab innumeris imperitorum Centuriis, in quibus nihil mentis, nihil rectæ rationis, nihil sani iudicii inest, ebullienti quadam & plane ridendâ verborum spumâ sese venditantibus; à quibus si emendicatos ab novitiis Authoribus centones dempseris, Deum Immortalem!  
15 quanto nudiores *Leberide* conspexeris, & exhaustâ inani vocabulorum & sententiuncularum supellectile, μηδὲ γρὸν φθέγγεσθαι, perinde mutos ac ranuncula Seriphia. At ô quam ægre temperaret à risu vel ipse, si in vivis esset, *Heraclitus*, si forte hosce cerneret, si Diis placet, Oratorculos, quos paulo  
20 ante audiverit cothurnato *Euripidis Oreste*, aut furibundo sub mortem *Hercule* grandiora eructantes, exhausto tandem

able. Great can be the rivalry even in schools for the production of hatreds, either among those pursuing different subjects, or among those following different methods in the same studies. I really am not disturbed

- 5                   Lest Polydamas and the Trojan women  
                  Prefer Labeo to me; that is a trifle.

Truly, however, my soul cannot wholly despair, for I see here and there, unless I am deluded, those who signify, not at all secretly, by the very quietness of their countenances, that  
10 they wish me well. By these indeed, however few, for my part, I would prefer to be approved, than by innumerable companies of the ignorant, who have no brains, no power to reason correctly, no sound judgment, men who betray themselves by a certain boasting and quite laughable froth of  
15 words, from whom if you take away the medley begged from modern authors, immortal God! you will find them even more empty than a bean pod, and when they have exhausted their meagre supply of words and little maxims, they utter not even a grunt, being just as speechless as the little Seriphian frogs.  
20 But O with what difficulty would even Heraclitus himself, if he were alive, restrain his laughter, if by chance, the gods being willing, he could perceive these little speakers here, whom a short time ago he might have heard spouting in the buskined *Orestes* of Euripides, or more bombastically in the  
25 *Hercules* raging toward his death; at length their very slender supply of some little words being exhausted, parade in meas-

vocularum quarundam tenuissimo penu, posito incedere supercilio, aut retractis introrsum Cornibus, velut animalcula quædam abrepere. Sed recipio me paululum digressus. Si quis igitur est qui, sprete pacis conditione, ἀσπονδον πολέμον  
5 mihi indixerit, cum ego quidem in præsentia non dedignabor orare & rogare, ut semotâ paulisper simultate, æquabilis adsit certaminis hujus arbiter; neve Oratoris culpa, si qua est, Causam quam optimam & præclarissimam in invidiam vocet. Quod si mordaciora paulo hæc & aceto perfusa nimio  
10 putaveritis, id ipsum de industria fecisse me profiteor: volo enim ut initium Orationis meæ primulum imitetur diluculum; ex quo subnubilo serenissima fere nascitur dies. Quæ an nocte præstantior sit, haud vulgaris utique agitur Controversia, quam quidem mearum nunc est partium, Audi-  
15 tores, pensique hujus matutini, accurate & radicitus excutere; quamvis & hæc Prolusioni Poeticæ, quam Decertationi Oratoriæ, magis videatur idonea: At at noctémne dixi cum die struxisse lites? Quid hoc rei est? quænam hæc molitio? numnam antiquum *Titanes* redintegrant bellum, *Phlegraï*  
20 prælii instaurantes reliquias? an Terra novam in superos Deos enixa est portentosæ magnitudinis prolem? an vero *Typhæus* injectam *Ætina* Montis eluctatus est molem! an denique, decepto *Cerbero*, catenis adamantinis subduxit se

ured step with haughtiness laid aside, or crawl slowly off like certain little animals with their horns drawn in.

But I recover myself, having digressed a very little. If then there is anyone who, spurning the conditions of peace, would  
5 impose upon me "truceless war," him at the present moment I will not disdain to address and to ask that he put aside for a little while his animosity and that he be present as an impartial judge of this debate, nor that, on account of the fault of the orator, if there is any, he speak disparagingly of such a splen-  
10 did and most noble subject. But if you should think these remarks a little too biting and steeped too much in vinegar, I acknowledge that I have done this very thing intentionally; for I wish that the beginning of my oration should resemble the very early dawn from whose gloomy clouds the clearest  
15 day is usually born.

Whether the Day is more excellent than the Night is surely no common question to dilate upon, one indeed which it is now my duty, fellow students, at this morning exercise, to examine carefully and completely; although this would seem  
20 more suitable for a poetical exercise than for an oratorical contest. However that may be, have I affirmed that Night arranged a contest with Day? What sort of question is this? What an undertaking is this? Do the Titans renew the ancient war, bringing to life the remains of the Phlegraean battle?  
25 Has the earth brought forth a new offspring of monstrous size against the gods above? Has Typhoeus forced himself out of the mass of Mount Aetna heaped upon him? Has Briareus at length by deceiving Cerberus released himself from



*Briareus*? quid est aliquando tandem, quod Deos manes ad  
Cœlestis imperii spem jam tertio crexerit? adeone contem-  
nendum *Jovis* fulmen? adeon' pro nihilo putanda *Palladis*  
invicta virtus, quâ tantam olim inter Terrigenas fratres edi-  
5 dit Stragem? Exciditne animo insignis ille per Cœli Templâ  
*Liberi* patris ex profligatis Gigantibus triumphus? Neuti-  
quam sane: meminit illa probe, nec sine lachrymis, consternatos  
plerosque à *Jove* Fratres superstitesque cæteros usque  
ad penitissimos Inferorum recessus in fugam actos; & certe  
10 jam nihil minus quam bellum adornat trepida, querelam  
potius & lites instruit, atque pro more Mulierum post rem  
unguibus & pugnis fortiter gestam ad colloquium seu verius  
ad rixam venit, periclitatura, opinor, linguâne plus an armis  
valeat. At vero quam inconsultò, quam arroganter, quam-  
15 que debili causæ titulo præ die summam rerum ambiat, ex-  
pedire festino. Video siquidem & ipsam diem Galli cantu  
expergefactam, cursu solito citatori adproperâsse ad suas  
laudes exaudiendas. Et quoniam unusquisque hoc imprimis  
ad honores & decus conferre arbitratur, si ab generosis Nata-  
20 libus & prisco Regum vel Deorum sanguine oriundum se  
compererit. Videndum primò utra genere sit clarior, mox  
quânam antiquitate honoratior; dein hæc an illa humanis

the adamantine chains? What indeed at length is it that has aroused the divine shades now for the third time to a hope of heavenly dominion, even though the lightning of Jove must be defied? even though the unconquered valor of Pallas must  
5 be thought worthless, by which at one time she produced so great a carnage among earth-born brothers? Has that remarkable victory of Father Liber over the shattered giants, throughout the circuit of heaven, escaped from her mind? Truly, by no means. She well remembers, not without tears, that many  
10 brothers were overwhelmed by Jove and that other survivors were also driven in flight to the lowermost depths of hell; and certainly now, alarmed, she prepares for nothing less than war; rather she plans an accusation and a suit; and according to the fashion of women, after struggling bravely with nails  
15 and fists, she comes to a conference, or, more truly, a wrangle, about to test, I think, whether she is more effective with her tongue than with arms. But in truth how indiscreetly, how presumptuously, and with how slight a claim for a case does she seek to gain supreme power in over Day, I hasten to  
20 relate; inasmuch as I behold even Day herself, aroused by the crowing of the cock, has advanced in her accustomed course more speedily in order to hear her own praises. And because each one thinks it contributes especially to honor and glory, if he ascertains himself to be born from a noble lineage and  
25 from the ancient stock of kings and gods, in the first place I will consider which of the two in birth is more noble, next which is the more honored by antiquity, then whether the one or the other serves more suitably human needs.

usibus accomodatius inserviat. Apud vetustissimos itaque Mythologiæ scriptores memoriæ datum reperio, *Demogorgonem* Deorum omnium Atavum, (quem eundem & Chaos ab antiquis nuncupatum hariolor) inter alios Liberos, quos  
 5 sustulerat plurimos, Terram genuisse; hâc, incerto patre noctem fuisse prognatam; quamvis paulo aliter *Hesiodus* eam Chaogenitam velit hoc Monosticho,

Ἐξ χάος δ' Ἐρεβός τε μέλαινα τε νύξ ἐγένοντο.

Hanc, quocunque natam, cum adoleverat ad ætatem nuptiis  
 10 maturam, poscit sibi uxorem *Phanes* Pastor; annuente Matre, refragatur illà, negatque se ignoti viri & nusquam visi, moribusque insuper tam longe diversis, concubitum inituram. Repulsam *Phanes* ægre ferens, verso in odium amore, nigellam hanc Telluris filiam per omnes orbis Terrarum  
 15 tractus ad necem sequitur indignabundus. Illa vero quem amantem sprexit, cum hostem non minus tremit; propterea ne apud ultimas quidem Nationes, & disjuncta quam maxime loca, immo ne in ipso sinu parentis satis se tutam rata, ad incestos *Erebi* fratris amplexus furtim & clanculum se  
 20 corripit; timore simul gravi soluta, maritumque nacta proculdubio sui similem. Hoc itaque tam venusto conjugum pari *Æther* & *Dies* perhibentur editi, ut Author est idem, cujus supra mentionem fecimus *Hesiodus*:

Accordingly, I find it stated by the most ancient writers on mythology that Demogorgon, ancestor of all the gods, whom I note was also called Chaos by antiquity, begot the Earth among many other children whom he had borne. She, by an  
5 undetermined father, became the mother of Night; although somewhat differently Hesiod would wish her the offspring of Chaos, in this single line:

From Chaos, Erebus and black Night were born.

Whatsoever her origin, when she had grown to an age fit for  
10 marriage, Phanes, the shepherd, demanded her as his wife. Although her mother approved, she refused and said that she would not enter into marriage relations with an unknown man whom she had never seen and whose habits besides were so very different. Phanes, bearing with ill grace his repulse,  
15 his love turning to hatred, full of rage, followed this dark daughter of Earth through all the world seeking her death. Him whom she scorned as a lover, none the less she feared as as enemy. Wherefore, not deeming herself safe enough even among the farthest nations and in places separated as  
20 far as possible, indeed not in the very bosom of her mother, she furtively and secretly betook herself hastily into the incestuous embraces of her brother Erebus. At the same time she was released from her oppressive fear, and bore her husband a child very like himself in every respect. Accordingly,  
25 both Aether and Day are reported born to the beautiful pair of mates, on the authority of the same author, Hesiod, whom we have already mentioned:

*Νυκτὸς δ' αὖτ' αἰθήρ τε καὶ ἡμέρα ἐξεγένοντο,  
 Οὗς τέκε κυσσαμένη Ἐρέβει φιλότῳτι μεγεῖσα.*

- At enim vetant humaniores Musæ, ipsa etiam prohibet Philosophia Diis proxima, ne Poetis Deorum figulis, præsertim  
 5 Græcanicis, omni ex parte habeamus fidem; nec quisquam  
 iis hoc probro datum putet, quod in re tanti momenti Authores videantur vix satis locupletes. Si quis enim eorum  
 aliquantillum deflexerit à vero, id non tam ingeniis eorum  
 assignandum, quibus nihil divinius, quam pravæ & cæcu-  
 10 tenti ejus ætatis ignorantia, quæ tunc tempestatis pervadebat omnia. Abunde sane laudis hinc sibi adepti sunt, affatim  
 gloriæ, quod homines in sylvis atque montibus dispalatos  
 belluarum ad instar, in unum compulerint locum, & Civitates  
 constituerint, quodque omnes Disciplinas quotquot  
 15 die traduntur, lepidis fabellarum involucris obvestitas pleni  
 Deo primi docuerint; eritque hoc solum iisdem ad assequendam  
 nominis immortalitatem non ignobile sane subsidium,  
 quod Artium scientiam feliciter inchoatam posteris absolvendam  
 reliquerint.
- 20 Noli igitur, quisquis es, arrogantia me temere damnare,  
 quasi ego jam veterum omnium Poetarum decreta, nullâ  
 nixus autoritate, perfregerim aut immutaverim; neque

From Night Aether and Day were born,  
Whom she conceived and bore when inspired  
by love of Erebus.

However it may be, the gentler Muses, nay Philosophy  
5 itself, very close to the gods, forbids us to give credence in  
every way to the pictures of gods in the poets, especially to  
the Grecian. Nor should anyone think this statement libel-  
lous concerning them; since in a matter of great importance  
the authors seem not quite trustworthy. For if any of them  
10 deviated just a little from the truth, the swerving ought not  
be ascribed so much to their character, than which nothing is  
more divine, as to the perverse and blind ignorance of that  
age, an ignorance which pervaded everything in those days.  
As it is, they have won for themselves abundantly indeed of  
15 praise, enough of glory, because they have driven into one  
place men who were wandering in woods and mountains  
after the fashion of wild beasts, and they have established  
states, and, inspired by the divinity, they first have taught all  
learning whatsoever that has been handed down to this day,  
20 clad in the beautiful vestments of fiction. And this alone will  
be a not unworthy help to them for the attainment of an im-  
mortal name, that they have left a knowledge of the arts  
happily begun for posterity to finish.

Do not therefore, whoever you are, condemn me rashly on  
25 account of my assumption, as if I had already shattered and  
changed the principles of all the old poets, bound by no au-  
thority; for I do not affirm this of myself, but I attempt some-

enim id mihi sumo, sed ea tantummodo ad normam rationis revocare conor, exploraturus hoc pacto num rigidæ possint veritatis examen pati. Quocirca primò noctem Tellure ortam erudite quidem & eleganter fabulata est Antiquitas; quid  
5 enim aliud mundo noctem obducit quam densa & impervia terra, Solis lumini nostroque Horizonti interposita? quòd eam deinde nunc patrimam, fuisse negant Mythologi, nunc matrimam, id quoque festiviter fictum; inde siquidem recte colligitur spuriam fuisse aut subdititiam, aut demum paren-  
10 tes prolem tam famosam & illiberalem præ pudore non agnovisse. At vero cur existimarent *Phanetem* illum mirificâ supramodum humanum facie, noctem Æthiopissam & monogrammam etiam in Matrimonium adamasse, arduum impense negotium videtur è vestigio divinare, nisi quod fœmi-  
15 narum insignis admodum id temporis paucitas delectum suppeditaret nullum. Atqui presse agamus & cominus. *Phanetem* interpretantur Veteres Solem sive Diem; quem dum commemorant Noctis conjugium primo petiisse, deinde in ultionem spreti connubii insecutum, nihil aliud quam Di-  
20 erum & Noctium vices ostendere volunt. Ad hoc autem quid opus erat introduxisse *Phanetem* Noctis nuptias ambientem,

how or other to reduce these things to the norm of reason, being about to investigate in this fashion whether they can endure the test of strict truth.

Wherefore, in the first place, Antiquity has related learnedly and indeed in the best style that Night sprang from the Earth; for what else besides the Earth produces Night, except a dense and impenetrable earth interposed between the light of the sun and our horizon? Since the mythologists are uncertain at one time about her paternity and at another time  
10 about her maternity, the story becomes a pleasant fiction; if indeed it is rightly considered to have been false or forged, or if the parents did not in the end acknowledge for shame offspring so notorious and ignoble. But in truth, why they should believe that Phanes, a more than human being with  
15 an extraordinary countenance, had yearned for a union with Ethiopian and shadowy Night, would seem an exceedingly difficult matter to assert from the evidence, unless the remarkable scarcity of women up to that time furnished no abundant choice.

20 Let us, however, get at the matter closely and hand to hand. The ancients interpret Phanes as the Sun or Day. When, accordingly, they write that he sought at first a union with Night and then pursued her in revenge on account of the scorned connection, they wish to show nothing else than the  
25 alternate succession of day and night. In addition to this moreover, what was the necessity of representing Phanes' seeking connection with Night, when that everlasting succession and as it were mutual impulse of these is better ex-



cum perpetua illa eorum successio & mutuus quasi impulsus innato & æterno odio melius adsignificetur; quippe constat sudum & tenebras ab ipso rerum principio acerrimis inter se dissedis inimicitiis. Atque ego sane noctem credo, *εὐφρόνης*  
 5 cognomen hinc solum accepisse, quod *Phanetis* connubio permiscere se caute recusarit, nec non cogitate; etenim si illum semel in suos admisisset thalamos, extra dubium radiis ejus & impatibili fulgore absorpta vel in nihilum interisset, vel penitus conflagrasset, sicuti olim invito *Jove*  
 10 amasio arsisse ferunt *Semelem*. Quapropter huic, non improvida salutis suæ, *Erebum* prætulit. Unde scitum illud *Martialis* & perurbanum,

Uxor pessima, pessimus Maritus,  
 Non miror bene convenire vobis.

15 Nec tacendum existimo, quam formosâ & se dignâ virum auxerit prole, nimirum *Ærumna*, *Invidiâ*, *Timore*, *Dolo*, *Fraude*, *Pertinaciâ*, *Paupertate*, *Miseriâ*, *Fame*, *Querelâ*, *Morbo*, *Senectute*, *Pallore*, *Caligine*, *Somno*, *Morte*, *Charonte*, qui ultimo natus est partu; adeo ut hic apprime quadret quod in Proverbii consuetudinem venit, *κακοῦ χάραος κακὸν ὥδον*. Cæterum nec desunt qui etiam *Ætherem* & Diem itidem *Erebo* suo Noctem peperisse tradunt. At enim quo-

plained by an innate and eternal animosity; since it happens that light and darkness have disagreed among themselves with bitterest hatred from the very beginning of things. And I truly believe that Night has received the cognomen *Euphro-*  
5 *nes* for this reason alone, that she cautiously and considerately refused to enter into marriage relationship with Phanes; for if she had admitted him to her chamber, beyond a doubt, devoured by his rays and by his unendurable brightness, she would either have been reduced to nothingness or she would  
10 have been burned to a crisp, just as once they say happened when Semele was consumed against his will by her lover Jupiter. On this account, not unmindful of her safety, she preferred Erebus; whence that witty and polished epigram of Martial:

15       Most wicked wife, most wicked husband;  
I wonder not that you get along well together.

Nor do I think I ought to pass over in silence how she enriched her husband with offspring, beautiful and worthy of herself: doubtless with Tribulation, Envy, Fear, Guile, Fraud,  
20 Obstinacy, Poverty, Wretchedness, Famine, Complaint, Sickness, Senility, Fright, Blindness, Sleep, Death, Charon, who was produced in a final birth, in order that she might on this occasion very fittingly complete what comes in the fashion of an adage: "From a bad crow a bad egg."

25       Besides, there are not lacking those who relate that Night bore Aether and Day likewise to her Erebus. But how few

tusquisque est, non impos mentis, qui sic Philosophantem non explodat ac rejiciat tanquam Democritica Commenta aut Nutricularum Fabulas proferentem? Ecquam enim veri speciem præ se fert, posse obscuram & fuscam noctem tam  
5 venustulum, tam amabilem, tam omnibus gratum acceptumque reddere partum? Qui etiam ut primum conceptus esset, præmaturo impetu erumpens utero matrem enecâset, ipsumque *Erebum* patrem abegisset protinus, vetulumque coegisset *Charontem*, ut sub imo *Styge* nocturnos abderet  
10 oculos, & si qua sub Inferis latibula sunt, ut eo se remigio & velis reciperet. Nec solum apud Orcum non est natus dies, sed ne unquam quidem ibi comparuit; neque potest illuc nisi fatorum ingratis vel per minimam intromitti rimulam; quid! quod etiam diem nocte antiquiorem audeo dicere,  
15 eamque mundum recens emersum è Chao diffuso lumine collustrasse, priusquam nox suas egisset vices; nisi crassam illam & immundam caliginem noctem vel ipsi *Demogorgoni* equævam velimus perperam nominare. Ideoque Diem *Urani* filiam natu maximam arbitror, vel filii potius dixeris,  
20 quem ille in solatium humanæ gentis & terrorem Infernæ Deorum procreasse dicitur; ne scilicet, occupante tyrannidem nocte, nulloque inter Terras & Tartara discrimine posito, Manes & Furæ atque omne illud infame Monstro-

there are in their right minds who do not disapprove and reject such a philosophic phantasy as smacking of Democritian fabrications or the stories of nurses? For does it bear any appearance of truth in its own behalf, that it is possible  
5 for cloudy and murky Night to produce offspring so beautiful, so lovable, so pleasing and agreeable to all? Furthermore, as soon as she had been conceived, she would have tortured her mother, rushing violently forth in premature birth; next she would have driven away her father Erebus himself;  
10 and then compelled old Charon to hide his nocturnal eyes in the Stygian depths, and, if there are any dens under Hades, to betake him thither with oar and sails. Not only was Day not born in Orcus; she never even appeared there: nor can she enter there except against the will of the fates or through a  
15 very small crevice.

What shall be said to this: that I dare to say that Day is more ancient than Night; that this world, recently emerged from Chaos, was illuminated by diffused light before Night had begun her alternations; unless we wish erroneously to call  
20 Night that dense, foul obscurity, equivalent even to Demogorgon himself? Therefore, I think Day is the eldest daughter of Uranus, or rather, you will say, of his son, whom he is said to have begotten for the comfort of mankind and the terror of the Infernal Gods. Yea, forsooth, with Night occupying  
25 the position of a tyrant and situate with no interval between Earth and Tartarus, the Shades and Furies and all that infamous brood of monsters would continuously crawl up to the earth, leaving their home in the infernal regions; while

rum genus ad terras usque, desertâ *Barathri* sede, se pro-  
perent, misellique homines densis obvoluti umbris, & qua-  
quaversum occlusi, defunctarum animarum poenas etiam vivi  
experirentur. Hactenus, Academici, obscuram noctis pro-  
5 paginem atris & profundissimis eruimus tenebris; habebitis  
ilicet ut se dignam præbuerit Natalibus suis, sed si prius Diei  
laudibus impensam dederim opellam meam, quamvis & illa  
sane omnium laudatorum Eloquentiam anteciat. Et certe  
primo quam omnium animantium stirpi grata sit & deside-  
10 rabilis, quid operæ est vobis exponere; cum vel ipsæ volucres  
nequeant suum celare gaudium, quin egressæ nidulis, ubi  
primum diluculavit, aut in verticibus Arborum concentu  
suavissimo deliniant omnia, aut sursum librantes se, & quam  
possunt prope Solem volitent, redeunti gratulaturæ luci. At  
15 primus omnium adventantem Solem triumphat insomnis  
Gallus, & quasi præco quivis, monere videtur Homines, ut  
excusso somno prodeant, atque obviam effundant se novam  
salutatam auroram: tripudiant in agris capellæ, totumque  
genus quadrupedum gestit & exultat lætitiâ. Quinetiam &  
20 mœsta Clytie totam fere noctem, converso in Orientem  
vultu, *Phœbum* præstolata suum, jam arridet & adblanditur  
appropinquantî Amatori. Caltha quoque & Rosa, ne nihil  
addant communi gaudio, aperientes sinum, Odores suos Soli  
tantum servatos profusè spirant, quibus noctem dedignantur  
25 impertiri, claudentes se folliculis suis simulatque vesper ap-

wretched mankind, wrapped in dense fogs and pent up whithersoever they turn, would experience even in life the pangs of dead souls.

Up to this point, fellow students, we have shown the obscure origin of Night from black and most profound darkness; you shall straightway consider how she has proved herself worthy of her birthplace; but after I shall first have paid my ample tribute to the praises of Day, although she truly would surpass the eloquence of all encomiasts.

10 In the first place, what need is there to explain to you how pleasant and agreeable it is to the race of living creatures; since even the birds themselves cannot conceal their joy, but, coming from their nests at daybreak, or in the tops of trees, they describe all things with sweetest harmony; or, launching  
15 themselves on high, they fly as close to the sun as they are able, expressing thanks for his returning light. But first of all, the sleepless cock hails the approaching sun and like some herald seems to warn mankind, aroused from sleep, to come forth and rush out to greet the coming dawn. The she-goats  
20 caper in the fields. The whole race of quadrupeds is transported and leaps with joy. Yea, also, even mournful Clytie, awaiting almost the whole night her Phoebus, with her face turned toward the east, now smiles upon and invites her approaching lover. The marigold and also the rose, lest they  
25 add nothing to the common joy, opening their bosoms, breathe forth profusely their odors, reserved for the sun only, which they disdain to share with the night, concealing themselves in their leaflets as soon as evening approaches.

petat; cæterique flores inclinata paulum, & rore languidula  
erigentes capita quasi præbent se Soli, & tacite rogant ut suis  
osculis abstergat Lachrymulas, quas ejus absentix dederant.  
Ipsa quoque Tellus in adventum Solis cultiori se induit ves-  
5 titu, nubesque juxta variis Chlamydata coloribus, pompâ  
solenni, longoque ordine videntur ancillari surgenti Deo.  
Ad summam, nequid deesset ad ejus dilatandas laudes, huic  
*Persæ*, huic *Libyes*, divinos Honores decrevere; *Rhodienses*  
pariter celeberrimum illum stupendæ magnitudinis Colos-  
10 sum, *Charetis Lyndii* miro exstructum artificio, huic sacrâ-  
runt; huic itidem hodie Occidentalis *Indiæ* Populi thure cæ-  
teroque apparatu sacrificare accepimus. Vos testor, Acade-  
mici, quam jucundum, quam optatum diuque expectatum  
vobis illucescat mane, utpote quod vos ad mansuetiores Mu-  
15 sas revocet, á quibus insaturabiles & sitibundos dimiserat in-  
grata nox. Testor ultimo *Saturnum* Cælo deturbatum in  
Tartara, quam lubens vellet, si modo per *Jovem* liceret, ab  
exosis tenebris ad auras reverti; Quod demum Lux vel ipsi  
*Plutoni* suâ caligine longe sit potior, id quidem in confesso  
20 est, quando cœleste regnum toties affectavit, unde scite, &  
verissime *Orpheus* in Hymno ad *Auroram*,

And the other flowers, raising their heads which had been bowed a little and languishing with dew, almost surrender themselves to the sun and ask secretly that he wipe away with his kisses their tears, which his absences had produced. The  
5 Earth herself, at the coming of the sun, also clothes herself in more splendid attire. And the clouds in like manner with garments of varying hues, with festal show, and in long procession, seem to be maids in attendance on the rising god. Finally, that there may be nothing lacking to magnify his  
10 praises, to him the Persians, to him the Libyans, have decreed divine honors; the Rhodians also have dedicated to him that very celebrated Colossus, of stupendous size, erected with wonderful skill by Chares of Lindos; to him even to this day we learn that the peoples of the Indian Occident sacrifice  
15 with incense and with other ceremonial. I call you to witness, fellow students, what a joyous, what a delightful daily expectation dawns upon you in the morning, seeing that it summons you again to the more gentle Muses, from whom the disagreeable night has separated you, insatiable and  
20 thirsty. I call to witness finally Saturn, driven from Heaven into Hell, how gladly he would wish to return from the hateful shades to the upper air, if only he might be permitted by Jove; for in very truth, it is indeed generally known that light even to Pluto himself is more powerful by far than his  
25 own darkness, inasmuch as he has sought many times the dominion of heaven, concerning which Orpheus has beautifully and most truly sung in his Hymn to Aurora:



Ἡ χαίρει θνητῶν μερόπων γένος οὐδέ τις ἐστίν,  
 Ὅς φεύγει τὴν σὴν ὄψιν καθυπέρτερον, οὔσαν  
 Ἥνικα, τὸν γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἀποσεΐσης.

Πᾶς δὲ βροτός γήθει, πᾶν ἔρπετόν, ἀλλὰ τε φῦλα  
 5 Τετραπόδων πτηνῶν τε καὶ εἰναλίων πολυθινῶν.

Nec mirum utique cum Dies non minus utilitatis adferat  
 quam delectationis, & sola negotiis obeundis accommodata  
 sit; quis enim mortalium lata & immensa maria trajicere  
 sustineret, si desperaret affuturum diem; immo non aliter  
 10 Oceanum navigarent quam *Lethen* & *Acherontem* Manes,  
 horrendis nimirum undiquaque tenebris obsiti. Unusquique  
 etiam in suo se contineret gurgustio, haud unquam ausus  
 foras prorepere; adeo ut necesse esset dissui statim humanam  
 societatem. Frustra *Venerem* exeuntem è mari inchoasset  
 15 *Apelles*; frustra *Zeuxis Helenam* pinxisset, si nox cæca &  
 obnubila res tam visendas oculis nostris adimeret; tum quo-  
 que frustra tellus serpentes multiplici & erratico lapsu vites,  
 frustra decentissimæ proceritatis arbores profunderet, incas-  
 sum denique gemmis & floribus tanquam stellulis interpo-  
 20 laret se, cælum exprimere conata; tum demum nobilissimus  
 ille videndi sensus nullis animalibus usui foret; ita prorsus,  
 extincto mundi oculo, deflorescerent omnia & penitus emo-  
 rirentur; nec sane huic cladi diu superessent ipsi homines,  
 qui tenebricosam incolerent terram, cum nihil suppeteret

Thus rejoiceth she the race of clear-voiced mortals —  
Nor doth a single one escape that watchful gaze, o'erhead.  
When from their eyes, thou doth shake off sweet sleep,  
Joy fills the soul of all,— of creeping beast, the host  
5 Of quadrupeds, of birds, of the finny dwellers in the deep.

Nor is it to be wondered at, since Day brings no less of usefulness than of pleasure, and alone is adapted to the transaction of business; for who of mortals would undertake to cross the vast and boundless seas, if he should give up hope that day would  
10 come again? Indeed, they could not sail the ocean otherwise than the shades sail Lethe and Acheron, covered over everywhere doubtless with awful darkness. Also each one would confine himself in his hut, hardly ever daring to creep out of doors; so that it would be necessary immediately to dissolve  
15 human society. In vain would Apelles have attempted his Venus arising from the sea; in vain would Zeuxis have painted his Helen, if dark and cloudy night should so obscure the things which must be seen by our eyes. Then also in vain would the earth bring forth the vines, tangled in many folds  
20 and wandering flight; in vain the trees of most noble height; to no purpose in fine would she bedeck herself with gems and flowers like little stars, trying to imitate heaven. Then at length that most eminent faculty of seeing would be of no use to animals; so in a word, with the eye of the world put  
25 out, all things would fade and completely die away; nor indeed would men themselves long survive that disaster, men who should inhabit an earth shrouded in darkness, since noth-

unde victitarent, nihil denique obstaret, quo minus in antiquum Chaos ruerent omnia. Hisce quidem possit quispiam inexhausto stylo plura adjicere; verum non permetteret ipsa verecunda dies ut singula persequatur, & proclivi cursu ad  
5 occasum præcipitans, nullo modo pateretur immodice laudantem. Jam igitur declinat in vesperam dies, & nocti statim cedit, ne adultâ hieme solstitialem contigisse diem facete dicatis. Tantum pace vestra liceat adjungere pauca quæ non possum commode præterire. Meritò igitur Poetæ noctem  
10 Inferis exurgere scriptitarunt; cum impossibile plane sit aliunde tot tantaque mala nisi ex eo loco mortalibus invehi. Obortâ enim nocte sordescunt & obfuscantur omnia, nec quicquam tunc profecto interest inter *Helenam* & *Canidiam*, nihil inter pretiosissimos & viles Lapillos, nisi quod gemmarum nonnullæ etiam noctis obscuritatem vincant: Huc  
15 accedit, quod amœnissima quæque loca tunc quidem horrorem incutiant, qui etiam alto & tristi quodam augetur silentio; siquidem quicquid uspiam est in agris, aut hominum aut ferarum, vel domum, vel ad antra raptim se conferunt; ubi stratis immersi ad aspectus noctis terribiles claudunt oculos. Nullum foris conspicias præterquam Fures & Laverniones Lucifugos, qui cædem anhelantes & rapinas, insidiantur bonis Civium, & noctu solum vagantur, ne detegantur interdiu; quippe dies nullum non indagare solet  
25 nefas, haud passura lucem suam istiusmodi flagitiis inqui-

ing would produce the means of subsistence, nothing indeed would hinder all things from plunging to ancient Chaos. To these ideas it might be possible for someone with an unexhausted pen to add many things; but the modest day itself  
5 would not permit every item to be mentioned, and in its downward journey, hastening to the west, would by no means permit excessive adulation. Now, therefore, the day declines into eventide and quickly yields to night, unless you say wittily that, winter having come to maturity, the solstitial  
10 day has come.

May your patience permit only a few words which I cannot conveniently omit. Justly indeed the poets are wont to write that night arises from Hell; since it would be quite impossible from another source for so many and so great evils to assail  
15 mortals, except from that place. For on the appearance of night all things become murky and overspread with gloom; there is truly no difference between Helen and Canidia, none between the most precious and the common jewels, except that among the gems some conquer the obscurity of night.  
20 To this be it added that some most charming places do then inspire horror, which is increased by a certain deep and mournful silence, since indeed all who are anywhere in the fields, either of men or beasts, betake themselves speedily to home or to caves, where hidden in beds they close their eyes  
25 to the terrible visions of Night. Nothing abroad do you see except thieves and light-shunning rogues, who, breathing out slaughter and rapine, lie in wait for the goods of citizens and wander along in the night, lest they be detected by Day; since

nari; nullum habebis obvium nisi Lemures & Larvas, & Empusas quas secum nox comites è locis asportat subterraneis, quæque totâ nocte terras in sua ditione esse, sibi que cum hominibus communes vendicant. Ideoque opinor noctem auditum nostrum reddidisse solertio rem, ut umbrarum gemitus, bubonum & strygm ululatus, ac rugitus Leonum, quos fames evocat; eò citius perstringerent aures, animosque graviori metu percellerunt. Hinc liquidò constat, quam sit ille falsus animi qui noctu homines à timore otiosos esse, 5 noctemque curas sopire omnes autumat; namque hanc vanam esse & nugatoriam opinionem infœlici nôrunt experientia, quicumque sceleris cujusp iam conscii sibi fuere; quos tunc Sphinges & Harpyiæ, quos tunc Gorgones & Chimæræ intentatis facibus insequuntur, nôrunt miseri, qui cum nullo adsit qui subveniat iis & opituletur, nullus qui dulcibus 15 alloquiis dolores leniat, ad bruta saxa irritas jaciunt querelas, subinde exoptantes oriturum diluculum. Idcirco *Ovidius* Poetarum elegantissimus noctem jure optimo curarum maximam nutricem appellavit. Quod autem eo potissimum tempore fracta & defatigata laboribus diurnis corpora recreemus somno & refocillemus, id numinis beneficium est non noctis munus; sed esto, non est tanti somnus ut ejus ergo noctem 20 in honore habeamus, enimvero cum proficiscimur dormi-

indeed Day is wont to track down any impious deed, not being able to endure that its light should be polluted by evils of this kind. You will have no assembly, except of ghosts and spectres and hobgoblins, which Night brings with her as  
5 companions from subterranean places and which claim the lands of the earth to be during the whole night under their sway and shared by them with men. Accordingly, I believe Night has rendered more acute our hearing, so that the groans of shades, the hoots of owls and the screeches of hags, and the  
10 roars of lions whom hunger calls forth, on that account more quickly stun the ears and spirits, and smite with a deeper fear. Hence, it is plainly evident how deceived is he who affirms that men are at night free from fear and that Night lulls to sleep all cares; for all who have been conscious of any wick-  
15 edness in themselves have learned by unhappy experience this opinion to be worthless and futile, whom at that time Sphinxes and Harpies, whom then Gorgons and Chimeras pursue with menacing aspect; they have learned, wretched creatures, who hurl bitter complaints at the senseless rocks,  
20 when no one is by to help or aid them, no one to soothe their sorrows with pleasant conversation, continually longing for the coming day. Therefore Ovid, most elegant of poets, with perfect justice, has called night the "greatest nurse of cares." That, however, at this time especially we refresh and renew  
25 with sleep our bodies, worn and fatigued by daily labors, this is a favor of God, not a gift of Night; but be it so, sleep is not of so much importance that we hold Night in honor on account of it; because, when we set out to sleep, we tacitly

tum, revera tacite fatemur nōs imbelles & miseros homines, qui minuta hæc corpuscula ne ad exiguum tempus sine requie sustentare valeamus. Et certe quid aliud est somnus quam mortis imago & simulachrum? hinc *Homero* Mors &  
5 Somnus Gemelli sunt uno generati conceptu, uno partu editi. Postremò, quod Luna cæteraque Sydera nocti suas præferant faces, id quoque Soli debetur; neque enim habent illa quod transfundant lumen nisi quod ab illo accipiant mutuum. Quis igitur, si non tenebrio, si non effractor, si non aleator, si non  
10 inter Scortorum greges noctem pernoctare perpetem integrosque dies ronchos efflare solitus, quis inquam nisi talis tam inhonestam, tamque invidiosam causam in se suscepit defendendam? Atque demiror ego ut aspicere audeat Solem hunc, & etiam num communi luce impune frui, quam in-  
15 gratus vituperat, dignus profecto quem adversis radiorum ictibus veluti *Pythonem* novum interimat Sol; dignus qui *Cimmeriis* occlusus tenebris longam & perosam vitam transigat; dignus denique cujus Oratio somnum moveat auditoribus, ita ut quicquid dixerit non majorem somnio quovis  
20 fidem faciat; Quique ipse etiam somnolentus, nutantes atque stertentes Auditores annuere sibi & plaudere peroranti deceptus putet. Sed nigra video Noctis supercilia, & sentio atras insurgere tenebras; recedendum est, ne me nox improvisum opprimat. Vos igitur, Auditores, posteaquam Nox

- confess ourselves in truth cowardly and wretched creatures, who are not able to take care of these weak little bodies for a short time without repose. And surely what else is sleep but the image and likeness of death? Hence, in Homer Death and
- 5 Sleep are twins, begotten at one conception, born at one birth. Lastly, that the moon and other stars reveal their faces by night, this also is due to the sun; for these do not possess the light which they transmit, except that which they mutually receive from him.
- 10 Who, therefore, if not a swindler, if not a burglar, if not a gambler, if not one accustomed to spend whole nights among bands of strumpets and to pass entire days snoring; who, I say, except such a man would undertake to defend a cause so unseemly and so abominable in itself? And I am at a loss to
- 15 know how he would dare to look at the sun here and how he could enjoy in safety the common light which he ungratefully disparages; surely worthy is he that the Sun slay him with the adverse strokes of its rays, like a new Python; worthy is he of spending a long and detested life shut up in Cimmerian dark-
- 20 ness; worthy in short that his oration should put his audience asleep, so that what he might say would establish no greater credence than some dream or other; and who, asleep himself, is so deceived that he thinks his nodding and snoring auditors approve him and applaud his peroration.
- 25 But I see the black eyebrows of Night and I feel the dark shadows arising; I must retire lest Night overwhelm me un-awares. You, therefore, my hearers, since Night is nothing else than the passing and as it were the death of Day, be un-



nihil aliud sit quam obitus, & quasi mors Dici, nolite committere ut Mors Vitæ præponatur; sed causam dignemini meam vestris ornare suffragiis, ita studia vestra fortunent Musæ; exaudiatque Aurora Musis amica, exaudiat & *Phæbus*  
5 qui cuncta videt auditque quos habeat in hoc cœtu Laudis ejus Fautores. Dixi.

## In Scholis Publicis.

### *De Sphærarum Concentu.*

**S**l quis meæ tenuitati locus, Academici, post tot hodie, tantosque exauditos Oratores, conabor etiam ego jam pro meo modulo exprimere, quam bene velim solenni  
10 hujus lucis celebritati, & tanquam procul sequar hodiernum hunc Eloquentiæ triumphum. Dum itaque trita illa, & pervulgata dicendi argumenta refugio penitus, & reformido, ad novam aliquam materiem ardue tentandam accendit animum, & statim erigit hujus diei cogitatio, horumque simul  
15 quos digna die loquuturos haud injuriâ suspicabar; quæ duo vel tardo cuivis, & obtuso cæteroquin ingenio stimulos, aut acumen addidisse poterant. Hinc idcirco subiit pauca saltem super illo cœlesti concentu, dilatât (quod aiunt) manu, & ubertate Oratoriâ præfari, de quo mox quasi contracto pugno  
20 disceptandum est; habitâ tamen ratione temporis, quod me

willing to hold that Death should be preferred to Life; but deign to adorn my cause with your votes, so that the Muses may bless your studies. And may Aurora, the friend of the Muses, hearken; and may Phoebus give heed, who sees all  
5 things and hears those promoters of his glory whom he has in this assembly. I have spoken.

## II.

## IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

*On the Music of the Spheres*

IF THERE is any place for a man of my poor powers, fellow students, after so many speakers of consequence have been heard to-day, I shall attempt even at this mo-  
10 ment to express, in accordance with my small ability, how well I wish the established exercise of the present occasion; and I shall follow, albeit far outdistanced, in the course of this day's demonstration of eloquence. Accordingly, while I avoid and shun entirely those common and ordinary topics of discourse,  
15 the purpose of this day and likewise of those who, I suspected, would speak appropriately concerning matters fitted to the time, kindles and straightway rouses my mind to attempt with ardor some new theme. These two reasons are able to furnish incentives or keenness to one somewhat sluggish and  
20 for the most part possessed of a dull wit. Wherefore, a few words at least suggest themselves to be pronounced, as they say, with open hand and with rhetorical embellishment,

jam urget & coarctat. Hæc tamen perinde accipiat velim  
auditores, quasi per lusum dicta. Quis enim sanus existima-  
verit *Pythagoram* Deum illum Philosophorum, cujus ad no-  
men omnes ejus sæculi mortales non sine persancta venera-  
5 tione assurgebant, quis, inquam, cum existimaverit tam  
lubrice fundatam opinionem unquam protulisse in medium.  
Sanè si quam ille Sphærarum docuit harmoniam, & circum-  
actos ad modulaminis dulcedinem cœlos, per id sapienter  
innuere voluit, amicissimos orbium complexus, æquabilesque  
10 in æternum ad fixam fati legem conversiones: in hoc certe  
vel Poetas, vel quod idem pene est, divina imitatus ora-  
cula, à quibus nihil sacri reconditique mysterii exhibetur in  
vulgus, nisi aliquo involutum tegumento & vestitu. Hunc  
secutus est ille Naturæ Matris optimus interpretes *Plato*, dum  
15 singulis Cœli orbibus *Sirenas* quasdam insidere tradidit, quæ  
mellitissimo cantu Deos Hominesque mirabundos capiant.  
Atque hanc deinceps conspiracyem rerum universam, &  
consensum amabilem, quem *Pythagoras* per Harmoniam  
Poetico ritu subinduxit, *Homerus* etiam per auream illam  
20 *Jovis* catenam de Cœlo suspensam insigniter, appositèque  
adumbravit. Hinc autem *Aristoteles*, *Pythagoræ*, & *Platonis*  
æmulus & perpetuus Calumniator, ex labefactatis tantorum

about that famous heavenly harmony, concerning which very shortly there is to be a disputation with the closed fist; consideration of the time being observed, which now presses me on and restrains me. I would prefer, however, that you, my  
5 hearers, should regard these things as said in jest.

For what sane man would have thought that Pythagoras, that god of the philosophers, at whose name all mortals of his age stood up in very sacred veneration; — who, I say, would have thought that he would ever have expressed in public an opinion so uncertainly founded? Surely, if indeed he taught the harmony of the spheres and that the heavens revolved with melodious charm, he wished to signify by it, in his wise way, the very loving and affectionate relations of the orbs and their eternally uniform revolutions according to the fixed laws of  
15 necessity. Certainly, in this he imitated either the poets or, what is almost the same thing, the divine oracles, by whom no secret and hidden mystery is exhibited in public, unless clad in some covering or garment. That most skilful interpreter of Mother Nature, Plato, has followed him, since he affirms that  
20 certain sirens sit one upon each of the circles of the heavens and hold spell-bound gods and men by their most honey-sweet song. And finally, this agreement of things universal and this loving concord, which Pythagoras secretly introduced in poetic fashion by the term Harmony, Homer likewise sug-  
25 gested significantly and appropriately by means of that famous golden chain of Jove hanging down from heaven.

Aristotle, the envious and perpetual calumniator of Pythagoras and Plato, desiring to pave a way to renown on the

virorum sententiis viam sternere ad gloriam cupiens, inauditam hanc Cœlorum symphoniam, Sphærarumque modulos affinxit *Pythagoræ*. Quod si sic tulisset sive fatum, sive sors, ut tua in me, *Pythago*ra Pater, transvolâsset anima, haud  
5 utîque deesset qui te facile assereret, quantumvis gravi jamdiu laborantem infamiâ. At vero quidni corpora cœlestia, inter perennes illos circuitus, Musicos efficiant sonos? Annon æquum tibi videtur *Aristoteles*? næ ego vix credam intelligentias tuas sedentarium illum rotandi Cœli laborem potuisse tot sæculis perpeti, nisi ineffabile illud Astrorum melos  
10 detinuisset abituras, & modulationes delinimento suasisset moram. Quam si tu Cœlo adimas sane mentes illas pulchellas, & ministros Deos plane in Pistrinum dedis, & ad molas trusatiles damnas. Quinetiam ipse *Atlas* ruituro statim  
15 Cœlo jamprîdem subduxisset humeros, nisi dulcis ille concentus anhelantem, & tanto sub onere sudabundum lætissimâ voluptate permulsisset. Ad hæc, pertæsus Astra *Delphinus* jamdiu cœlo sua præoptâsset maria, nisi probe calluisset, vocales Cœli Orbes Lyram *Arioniam* suavitate longe  
20 superare. Quid! quod credibile est ipsam alaudam prima luce rectâ in nubes evolare, & Lusciniâ totam noctis solitudinem

shattered opinions of these great men, imputed to Pythagoras the unheard symphony of the heavens and tunes of the spheres. But if either fate or necessity had decreed that your soul, O Father Pythagoras, should have been translated into  
5 me, there would not have been lacking one who would easily have come to your rescue, however great the infamy under which you were laboring at the moment. Indeed, why should not the celestial bodies during their everlasting courses evolve musical sounds? Does it not seem fair to  
10 you, O Aristotle? Truly, I hardly believe your intelligences would be able to endure with patience that sedentary toil of the rolling heavens for so many ages, unless that ineffable song of the stars had prevented your departure and by the charm of its melody had persuaded a delay. It would be as  
15 if you were to take away from heaven those beautiful little goddesses and should deliver the ministering gods to mere drudgery and to condemn them to the treadmill. Nay indeed, Atlas himself long ago would have withdrawn his shoulders from a heaven that was about to fall, had not that sweet  
20 song soothed, with its most delightful charm, him, gasping and sweating under his great burden. In addition to these things the Dolphin, wearied of his constellation, would long ago have preferred his own seas to heaven, if he had not rightly been burning with the thought that the singing orbs of the  
25 sky excelled by far the sweetness of Arion's lyre. Why, credible it is that the lark itself should fly right up to the clouds at early dawn, and that the nightingale should spend the whole lonely night in song, in order that they may adjust their

cantu transigere, ut ad Harmonicam cœli rationem, quam attente auscultant, suos corrigant modulos. Hinc quoque Musarum circa *Jovis* Altaria dies noctesque saltantium ab ultima rerum origine increbuit fabula; hinc *Phæbo* lyræ perit  
5 ritia ad longinqua vetustate attributa est. Hinc Harmoniam *Jovis*, & *Electræ* fuisse filiam reverenda credidit Antiquitas, quæ cum *Cadmo* nuptui data esset, totus Cœli chorus concinuisse dicitur. Quid si nullus unquam in terris audiverit hanc astrorum Symphoniam? Ergone omnia supra Lunæ  
10 Sphæram muta prorsus erunt, torpidoque silentio consopita? Quinimo aures nostras incusemus debiles, quæ cantus & tam dulces sonos excipere aut non possunt, aut non dignæ sunt. Sed nec plane inaudita est hæc cœli melodia; quis enim tuas *Aristoteles* in media aeris plaga tripudiantes capras putaverit,  
15 nisi quod præcinentes cœlos ob vicinitatem clare cum audiant, non possint sibi temperare quo minus agant choreas. At solus inter Mortales concentum hunc audisse fertur *Pythagoras*; nisi & ille bonus quispiam genius, & cœli indigena fuerit, qui forte Superum jussu delapsus est ad animos hominum  
20 sacrâ eruditione imbuendos, & ad bonam frugem revocandos: ad minimum certe vir erat, qui omnes virtutum numeros in se continebat, quique dignus erat cum Diis ipsis sui

strains to the harmonic mode of the sky, to which they listen attentively. Thus also from the very beginning of things the story has prevailed about the Muses dancing day and night around the altar of Jove; hence from remote antiquity skill  
5 with the lyre has been attributed to Phoebus; for this reason the ancients believed Harmonia ought to be regarded as the daughter of Jove and Electra, whom the whole choir of heaven is said to have lauded in song when she had been given to Cadmus in marriage.

- 10 But supposing no one on earth had ever heard this symphony of the stars, does it therefore follow that all has been silent beyond the circle of the moon, and lulled to sleep by the benumbing silence? Nay rather, let us blame our feeble ears which are not able, or are not worthy, to overhear the  
15 songs and such sweet tones. But this melody of the sky is not really unheard; for who, O Aristotle, would have conceived of your meteors as dancing in the mid-region of the air, except that, when they hear the singing heavens clearly on account of their nearness, they cannot restrain themselves  
20 from performing a choral dance?

- But Pythagoras alone of mortals is said to have heard this song; unless that good man was both some deity and native of the sky, who perchance by direction of the gods had descended for the purpose of instructing the minds of men with  
25 holy knowledge and of calling upon them to improve. Certainly he was a man who combined in himself the whole gamut of virtues and who was worthy to converse with the very gods like unto himself and to enjoy the company of the



similibus sermones miscere, & cœlestium perfrui consortio: ideoque nihil miror, si Dii ejus amantissimi abditissimis eum Naturæ secretis interesse permiserint. Quod autem nos hanc minime audiamus Harmoniam sane in causa videtur esse  
5 furacis *Promethei* audacia, quæ tot mala hominibus invexit, & simul hanc fœlicitatem nobis abstulit quâ nec unquam frui licebit, dum sceleribus cooperti belluinis cupiditatibus ob-  
brutescimus; qui enim possumus cœlestis illius soni capaces fieri, quorum animæ (quod ait *Persius*) in terras curvæ sunt,  
10 & cœlestium prorsus inanes. At si pura, si casta, si nivea gestaremus pectora, ut olim *Pythagoras*, tum quidem suavissimâ illâ stellarum circumeuntium musicâ personarent aures nostræ, & opplerentur; atque dein cuncta illico tanquam in aureum illud sæculum redirent; nosque tum demum miseri-  
15 arum immunes, beatum & vel Diis invidendum degeremus otium. Hîc autem me veluti medio in itinere tempus intersecat, idque persane opportune vereor enim ne incondito minimèque numeroso stylo, huic quam prædico harmoniæ, toto hoc tempore obstrepuerim; fuerimque ipse impedimento,  
20 quo minus illam audiveritis; Itaque Dixi.

celestials. Therefore, I do not wonder that the gods, loving him very much, permitted him to take part in the most secret mysteries of Nature.

Moreover, the boldness of the thieving Prometheus seems  
5 to be the reason why we hear so little this harmony, a deed which brought upon humanity so many ills and likewise took away this happiness from us, which we shall never be permitted to enjoy so long as we remain brutish and overwhelmed by wicked animal desires; for how can those be susceptible of  
10 that heavenly sound whose souls, as Persius says, are bent toward the earth and absolutely devoid of celestial matters? But if we possessed hearts so pure, so spotless, so snowy, as once upon a time Pythagoras had, then indeed would our ears be made to resound and to be completely filled with that most  
15 delicious music of the revolving stars; and then all things would return immediately as it were to that golden age; then, at length, freed from miseries we should spend our time in peace, blessed and envied even by the gods.

At this moment, however, as it were in the midst of my  
20 speech, time has cut me off; and I suspect this has happened very opportunely indeed, lest I prove an obstacle to this whole occasion by a style, rude and quite lacking in rhythm compared with the harmony which I mentioned before; and lest I myself should be a hindrance, preventing you from hearing  
25 it. And so I am done.

## In Scholis Publicis.

### *Contra Philosophiam Scholasticam.*

**Q**UÆREBAM nuper obnixè, Academici, nec in postremis hoc mihi curæ erat quo potissimum verborum apparatu vos Auditores meos exciperem, cum subito mihi in mentem venit id quod *Marcus Tullius* (à  
5 quo, non sine fausto omine exorditur Oratio mea) toties commisit Literis; in hoc scilicet partes Rhetoris sitas esse, ac positas, ut doceat, delectet, & denique permoveat. Proinde istuc mihi tantummodo proposui negotium, ut ab hoc triplici Oratoris munere quam minime discedam. At quoniam  
10 docere vos consummatos undique homines non est quod ego mihi sumam, nec quod vos sustineatis, liceat saltem (quod proximum est) monere aliquid fortasse non omnino abs re futurum; delectare interim, quod sane perquam vereor, ut sit exilitatis meæ, erit tamen desiderii summa, quam si attigerò, certe parum erit, quin & permoveam. Permovebo autem in præsens abunde, ex animi sententia, si vos Auditores inducere potero, ut immania illa, & prope monstrosa subtilium, quod aiunt, doctorum volumina rariori manu evolva-  
tis, utque verrucosis Sophistarum controversiis paulo remissius indulgeatis. At vero ut palam fiat omnibus, quam sit  
20 æquum atque honestum quod suadeo, strictim ostendam, & pro mea semihorula hisce studiis nec oblectari animum, nec

## III.

## IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

*Against the Scholastic Philosophy*

I WAS seeking lately with all my might, fellow colleagues, very anxiously, how I might entertain you, my auditors, with the best possible exhibition of language, when suddenly there came into my mind an expression which  
5 Marcus Tullius, from whom by a fortunate omen my oration begins, frequently set down in his books; namely, that the function of the speaker has been established and determined as follows: that he instruct, please, and finally persuade. Accordingly, with that in view, I proposed to myself the task of  
10 departing as little as possible from this threefold requirement of the orator. But since to teach you, men accomplished in every way, is not what I should undertake, nor is it what you would endure, I may be permitted at least (what is nearest to it) to suggest something perchance not altogether foreign  
15 to the occasion. Meanwhile, to please, which I really fear very much is my weak point, will be nevertheless the height of my desire, which, if I shall attain it, certainly will be equal to persuasion. I will indeed persuade you fully at this time to my opinion, if I shall be able to induce you, my listeners, to  
20 open with sparer hand those huge and almost monstrous tomes of the, as they say, subtle doctors; and to indulge a little more mildly in the warty controversies of the sophists. But, although it is well known to everybody how that which I advocate is just and honored, I will show briefly during my

erudiri, nec denique commune bonum quicquam promoveri. Et certe in primis ad vos provoco, Academici, si qua fieri potest ex mea vestri ingenii conjectura, quid, quæso, voluptatis inesse potest in festivis hisce tetricorum senum altercationibus, quæ si non in *Trophonii* antro, certe in Monachorum specubus natæ olent, atque spirant scriptorum suorum torvam severitatem, & paternas rugas præ se ferunt, quæque inter succinctam brevitatem plus nimio proluxæ tædium creant, & nauseam; at si quando productiores leguntur, tum  
10 quidem aversationem pene naturalem, & si quid ultra est innati ódii pariunt Lectoribus. Sæpius ego, Auditores, cum mihi forte aliquoties imponeretur necessitas investigandi paulisper has argutias, post retusam diutinâ lectione & animi & oculorum aciem, sæpius inquam ad interspirandum restiti,  
15 & subinde pensum oculis emensus quæsiivi miserum tædii solatium; cum vero plus semper viderem superesse, quàm quod legendo absolveram, equidem inculcatis hisce ineptiis quoties præoptavi mihi repurgandum *Augeæ* Bubile, foelicemque prædicavi *Herculem*, cui facilis *Juno* hujusmodi  
20 ærumnam nunquam imperaverat exantlandam. Nec materiam hanc enervem, languidam, & humi serpentem erigit,

little half hour that, by those studies mentioned, the mind is neither delighted nor instructed, nor indeed is any common good promoted.

And certainly at the beginning I challenge you, collegians,  
5 if by any means it can be done in accordance with my conception of your ability: what pleasure, I ask, can there be in these joyous wranglings of crabbed old men, which, born if not in the cave of Trophonius, then certainly in the cells of monks, are betrayed by their odor and exhale the savage stern-  
10 ness of their authors and exhibit the frowns of the fathers; and which, prolix beyond measure, in the midst of extreme brevity awaken disgust and loathing? Moreover, if ever more verbose authors are read, then indeed they breed in the readers an aversion almost natural and whatever is beyond of inborn  
15 hatred. Frequently, my hearers, when by chance at different times the necessity of investigating a little while these quibbles was forced upon me, after the keenness of my eyes and mind had been dulled by long reading—frequently, I say, I halted to catch my breath, and, repeatedly measuring the weight with  
20 my mind's eye, I have sought a wretched relief from my disgust. But when I always saw more in sight than I had finished in my reading, often indeed I preferred, instead of these crammed-in fooleries, to clean out the Augean stables; and I declared Hercules a happy man, to whom the good-natured  
25 Juno had never set an exhausting hardship of this kind.

Nor does a more flowery style uplift from the earth or elevate this nerveless, languid, creeping stuff; but a diction dry and juiceless accompanies in such very close fashion the

aut attollit floridior stylus, sed jejunos & exuccos rei tenuitatem adeo conjunctissime comitatur, ut ego utique facile crediderim sub tristi *Saturno* scriptam fuisse, nisi quod innocua tunc temporis simplicitas ignoraret prorsus offucias  
5 istas, & diverticula, quorum hi Libri scatent ubique. Mihi credite, Juvenes Ornatissimi, dum ego inanes hasce quæstunculas nonnunquam invitus percurro, videor mihi per confragosa tesqua, & salebras, perque vastas solitudines, & præruptas montium angustias iter conficere; propterea nec verisimile est venustulas, & elegantes Musas pannosis hisce, &  
10 squalidis præesse studiis, aut deliros horum Sectatores in suum vendicare patrocinium; immo existimo nullum unquam fuisse iis in *Parnasso* locum, nisi aliquem forte in imo colle angulum incultum, inamœnum, dumis & spinis asperum, atque horridum, carduis, & densâ urticâ coopertum, à  
15 choro, & frequentia Dearum remotissimum, qui nec emittat Lauros, nec fundat Flores, quò denique *Phæbeæ* Citharæ nunquam pervenerit sonus. Divina certe Poesis eâ, quâ cœlitus impertita est, virtute obrutam terrenâ fæce animam  
20 in sublime exuscitans, inter cœli templa locat, & quasi Nectareo halitu afflans, totamque perfundens Ambrosia, cœlestem quodammodo instillat beatitudinem, & quoddam immortale gaudium insusurrat. Rhetorica sic animos capit hominum, adeoque suaviter in vincula pellectos post se trahit,

insignificance of the material that I could certainly believe without difficulty it had been written under gloomy Saturn; unless the harmless simplicity of that age was quite ignorant of those delusions and trifling inconsistencies with which  
5 these books everywhere abound. Believe me, most illustrious young men, sometimes while I survey unwillingly these empty little questions, I seem to myself to be undertaking a journey through rugged deserts and uneven roads and through vast solitudes and precipitous passes of mountains, because it is not  
10 likely that the charming and elegant Muses preside over these shrivelled and obscure subjects, or that the silly followers of these lay claim to their patronage. On the contrary, I think there never was a place for them on Parnassus, except perhaps some neglected corner at the bottom of the hill, dismal, rough  
15 and wild with brambles and thorns, covered over with thistles and dense nettles, far distant from the chorus and assembly of the goddesses—a place which neither yields laurels nor produces flowers, where in short the sound of Phoebus' lyre shall never reach.

20 Certainly divine Poetry, by that power which has been communicated from heaven, rousing to high flight the mind, buried in earthly dross, establishes quarters among the temples of the sky; and, as though inspiring with nectarean breath and besprinkling the whole with ambrosia, instils in a measure  
25 heavenly blessedness and suggests a kind of immortal joy.

Likewise Rhetoric captures the minds of men and so pleasantly draws after her in chains those who are enticed, that at one time she is able to move to pity, at another to transport into



ut nunc ad misericordiam permovere valeat, nunc in odium rapere, nunc ad virtutem bellicam accendere, nunc ad contemptum mortis evahere. Historia pulchre concinnata nunc inquietos animi tumultus sedat & componit, nunc delibutum  
5 gaudio reddit, mox evocat lachrymas, sed mites eas & pacatas, & quæ mœstæ nescio quid voluptatis secum afferant. At vero futes hæ, nec non strigosæ controversiæ, verborumque velitationes in commovendis animi affectibus, certe nulum habent imperium; stuporem duntaxat & torpedinem ac  
10 cersunt ingenio; proinde neminem oblectant, nisi qui agrestis, & hirsuti plane pectoris est, quique ex arcano quodam impetu ad lites & dissidia proclivis, & insuper impendio loquax à recta & sana sapientia abhorret semper atque avertitur. Amandetur itaque cum suis captiunculis sane, vel in  
15 montem *Caucasum*, aut sicubi terrarum cæca dominatur Barbaries, ibique subtilitatum suarum & præstigiarum ponat officinam, & pro libitu de rebus nihili torqueat & angat se, usque dum nimia sollicitudo, veluti *Prometheus* ille vultur cor exederit, penitusque absumpserit. Sed nec minus infru-  
20 gifera sunt, quam injucunda hæc studia, & quæ ad rerum cognitionem nihil prorsus adjutant. Ponamus enim ob oculos omnes illos turmatim cucullatos vetulos, harum præcipue captionum figulos, quotusquisque est qui ullo beneficio locupletaverit rem literariam? Citra dubium profecto cultam  
25 & nitidam, & mansuetiorem Philosophiam asperitate im-

hatred, again to kindle to warlike ardor, and then to exalt to contempt of death.

History, nobly ordered, now soothes and composes the restless agitation of the mind, now causes anointment with joy,  
5 anon it produces tears, but these gentle and quiet, which even though moist bring with them something of pleasure.

But these useless and really dry controversies and verbal wranglings certainly have no power to stir up the passions of the soul; they invite by their nature sluggishness only and tor-  
10 pidity. Likewise, they please nobody except one who is boorish and quite hairy of chest, and one who, inclined by some secret leanings to controversies and disagreements and moreover to excessive talkativeness, always shudders at and turns from a just and sound wisdom. Accordingly, let him be sent  
15 away with his quibbles, either into the Caucasian Mountain or wherever in the world blind barbarism holds sway, and there let him establish a workshop for his subtleties and illusions, and let him for his own pleasure twist and torment himself to no purpose about these matters until too much disquiet, like  
20 that Promethean vulture, shall have eaten up and consumed utterly his heart.

But these studies and those which add absolutely nothing to the knowledge of things are as fruitless as unpleasant. Truly, let us hold before our eyes all those bands of hooded  
25 old men, especially those moulders of sophistries: — what one is there who has adorned literature with anything worth while? Without doubt, indeed, he has rendered refined, cultured, and gentler philosophy quite odious by his rough

peçâ deformem pene reddidit, & veluti malus genius, humana pectora spinis & sentibus implevit, & perpetuam in Scholas intulit discordiam, quæ quidem fœlices discentium progressus mirum in modum remorata est. Quid enim? ultro citrôque argutantur versipelles Philosophastri? hic suam undique sententiam graviter firmat, ille contra, magnâ mole labefactare adnititur, & quod inexpugnabili argumento munitum existimes, id statim adversarius haud multo negotio amolitur. Hæret interea Lector, tanquam in bivio, quò divertat, quò inclinet anceps, & incertus consilii, dum tot utrinque confertim vibrantur tela, ut ipsam lucem adimant, rebusque profundum afferant caliginem, adeo ut jam lectori tandem opus sit, ut diuturnos *Cereris* imitatus labores, per universum terrarum orbem accensâ face quærat veritatem, & nusquam inveniatur: eousque demum insanix redactus est, ut se misere cæcutire putet, ubi nihil est, quod videat. Ad hæc non rarerent usu venit, ut, qui harum disputationum fuligini addicunt se totos & devovent, si forte aliud quidvis aggrediantur à suis deliramentis alienum, mire prodant inscitiam suam, & deridiculam infantiam. Novissime, summus hic tam serio navatæ operæ fructus erit, ut stultus evadas accuratior, & nugarum artifex, utque tibi accedat quasi peritior ignorantia, nec mirum; quandoquidem hæc omnia, de quibus adeo efflictim, & anxie laboratum est, in naturarum nullibi existunt, sed leves quædam imagines, & simu-

harshness, and like an evil genius he has filled human breasts with thorns and briars, and has introduced perpetual discord into the schools, which indeed has hindered to an extraordinary degree the happy progress of those who are learning.

- 5 What then? Do the wily philosophasters toss arguments forward and backward? This fellow establishes ponderously his opinion in every way, that one on the other hand with great labor strives to overthrow; and what you believe fortified by an invincible argument, that the opponent at once  
10 refutes without much trouble. Meanwhile, the reader is perplexed, as though at a cross-road, uncertain where to stop, whither to turn, and hesitating in his decision; while so many weapons are hurled on both sides close together that they take away the light itself and produce a deep darkness in the sub-  
15 jects, so that, as a result, the labor of the reader now becomes such that, imitating the daily labors of Ceres, he seeks Truth over the whole surface of the earth with a burning torch and finds it nowhere, and at length is reduced to insanity, so that he wretchedly thinks he is blind, where there is nothing for  
20 him to see.

Furthermore, not seldom it happens that those who incline toward and devote themselves wholly to the soot of these disputations, if by chance they attempt some other subject foreign to their nonsense, betray in an astonishing manner their  
25 ignorance and ridiculous childishness.

Finally then, the whole fruit of the labor so earnestly performed will be that you emerge a more accurate simpleton, a manufacturer of trifles; and that there accrues to you as it

lachra tenuia turbidas oberrant mentes, & rectoris sapientiæ vacuas. Cæterùm ad integritatem vitæ, & mores excolendos (quod multo maximum est) quam minime conducant hæ nugæ, etiamsi ego taceam, abunde vobis perspicuum est. At-  
5 que vel hinc liquido evincitur quod mihi postremo dicendum proposui, scilicet importunam hanc *λογομαχίαν* nec in publicum cedere commodum, nec ullo modo Patriæ vel Honori esse, vel Utilitati, quod tamen in scientiis omnes antiquissimum esse ducunt. Siquidem his maxime duobus auctam  
10 atque exornatam præcipue patriam animadverti; vel præclare dicendo, vel fortiter agendo; atqui litigiosa hæc discrepantium opinionum digladiatio, nec ad eloquentiam instruere, nec ad prudentiam instituere, nec ad fortia facinora incitare posse videtur. Abeant igitur cum suis formalitatibus argu-  
15 tatores versuti; quibus post obitum hanc par erit irrogari pœnam, ut cum *Ocno* illo apud inferos torqueant funiculos. At quanto satius esset, Academici, quantoque dignius vestro nomine nunc descriptas chartulâ terras universas quasi oculis perambulare, & calcata vetustis Heroibus inspectare loca,  
20 bellis, triumphis, & etiam illustrium Poetarum fabulis no-

were a more expert ignorance. It is not astonishing, since all these things, about which toil has been spent so tormentingly and anxiously, exist nowhere in the nature of things; but certain airy visions flit before minds disordered by trifling ideas  
5 and destitute of more accurate wisdom.

As to the rest, that these fatuities conduce very little to uprightness of life and to refinement of manners, which is by far the most important, even if I do not mention it, is abundantly clear to you.

10 And indeed at this moment that which I proposed as the last point to be discussed by me is plainly evident; namely, that this distressing logomachy does not eventuate in public welfare, nor in any way does it bring to a country either honor or utility, in spite of the fact that among the sciences all con-  
15 sider it to be the most ancient. Since indeed I have observed that a country is especially honored and adorned by these two things chiefly: either by speaking excellently or by acting bravely; and since this quarrelsome contest of discordant views does not seem able to develop eloquence nor to teach wisdom,  
20 nor to incite to brave deeds; therefore, let cunning quibblers vanish with their formalities, upon whom after death there will be this appropriate punishment inflicted: that they shall twist ropes in hell with the famous Ocnus.

How much better it would be, fellow students, and how  
25 much more worthy of your name, to make at this time a tour as it were with your eyes about the whole earth as represented on the map and view the places trodden by ancient heroes, and to travel through the regions made famous by wars, by

bilitas Regiones percurrere, nunc æstuantem transmittere  
*Adriam*, nunc ad *Ætnam* flammigantem impune accedere,  
dein mores hominum speculari, & ordinatas pulchre gen-  
tium respublicas; hinc omnium animantium naturas perse-  
5 qui, & explorare, ab his in arcanas Lapidum & Herbarum  
vires animum demittere. Nec dubitetis, Auditores, etiam in  
cœlos evolare, ibique illa multiformia nubium spectra, ni-  
visque coacervatam vim, & unde illæ matutinæ lachrymæ  
contempleri; grandinisque exinde loculos introspicite, &  
10 armamenta fulminum perscrutemini; nec vos clam sit quid  
sibi velit aut *Jupiter* aut Natura, cum dirus atque ingens  
Cometa cœlo sæpe minitatur incendium, nec vos vel minu-  
tissimæ lateant stellulæ, quotquot inter polos utrosque sparsæ  
sunt, & dispalatæ: immo Solem peregrinantem sequamini  
15 comites, & ipsum tempus ad calculos vocate, æternique ejus  
itineris exigite rationem. Sed nec iisdem, quibus orbis, limi-  
tibus contineri & circumscribi se patiatur vestra mens, sed  
etiam extra mundi pomœria divagetur; perdiscatque ultimò  
(quod adhuc altissimum est) seipsam cognoscere, simulque  
20 sanctas illas mentes, & intelligentias quibuscum post hæc  
sempiternum initura est sodalitiū. Quid multa nimis? vo-  
bis ad hæc omnia Disciplinæ sit ille, qui tantopere in deliciis  
est, *Aristoteles*, qui quidem hæc prope cuncta scienter &  
conquisite scripta nobis reliquit addiscenda. Cujus ego ad

- triumphs, and even by the tales of illustrious poets: now to cross the raging Adriatic, now to approach unharmed flame-capped Aetna; then to observe the customs of men and the governments of nations, so admirably arranged; thence to  
5 investigate and to observe the natures of all living creatures; from these to plunge the mind into the secret powers of stones and plants. Do not hesitate, my hearers, to fly even up to the skies, there to behold those multiform aspects of the clouds, the massy power of the snow, and the source of those tears of  
10 early morn; next to peer into the caskets of the hail and to survey the arsenals of the thunderbolts. Nor let what Jupiter or Nature veils from you be concealed when a baleful and enormous comet oftentimes threatens a conflagration from heaven; nor let the most minute little stars be hidden from  
15 you, however many there may be scattered and straying between the two poles. Yea, follow as companion the wandering sun, and subject time itself to a reckoning and demand the order of its everlasting journey. Nay, let not your mind suffer itself to be hemmed in and bounded by the same limits  
20 as the earth, but let it wander also outside the boundaries of the world. Finally, what is after all the most important matter, let it learn thoroughly to know itself and at the same time those holy minds and intelligences, with whom hereafter it will enter into everlasting companionship.
- 25 Why speak further? Let that famous man, Aristotle, be your teacher in all these subjects, who possesses so much charm, who indeed has left to us almost all these things, which ought to be learned, written in a learned manner and with



nomen jam subito permoveri sentio vos, Academici, atque in hanc sententiam duci pedetentim, & quasi eo invitante proclivius ferri. Quod si ita sit, sane ejus rei laudem, cujusque-  
 5 tinet, ego certe satis habeo, si veniam prolixitatis meæ pro vestra humanitate impetravero. Dixi.

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## In Collegio, &c.

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### Thesis.

*In Rei cujuslibet interitu non datur resolutio ad  
 Materiam Primam.*

**E**RROR an è *Pandoræ* pixide, an ex penitissimo eruperit *Styge*, an denique unus ex Terræ filiis in cœlites conjuraverit, non est hujus loci accuratius disquirere.  
 10 Hoc autem vel non scrutanti facile innotescat, cum ex infimis incrementis, veluti olim *Typhon*, aut *Neptuno* genitus *Ephialtes* in tam portentosam crevisse magnitudinem, ut ipsi quidem veritati ab illo metuam. Video enim cum ipsâ Divâ ἀλγθεία haud rarò æquo *Marte* pugnantem, video post damna  
 15 factum ditiozem, post vulnera virescentem, victumque victoribus exultantem. Quod de *Antæo Lybico* fabulata est An-

much pains. I perceive you are suddenly moved by his name, fellow students, and are drawn gently to this opinion, and, as if by his allurements, are become more tractable. If this be so, clearly you owe to him praise on account of this matter, of  
5 whatever kind it is, and thanks. But in the meanwhile, as it concerns me, I am quite content if I shall have obtained indulgence by your courtesy for my prolixity. I have spoken.

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## IV.

## IN COLLEGE, etc.

*Thesis*

*In the destruction of any thing a resolution to  
primary matter does not occur*

WHETHER Error broke forth from Pandora's box or from the lowest Stygian depth, or whether, in short, one of the sons of Earth conspired against the gods, is not to be investigated too closely at this time. Moreover it may easily be noted even by a careless observer that Error from the smallest beginnings, has grown to such enormous magnitude, as was once the case with Typhon  
15 or Ephialtes, son of Neptune, that I fear for Truth itself on account of him; for I behold Error contending not infrequently on equal terms with the goddess Truth herself; I behold him made richer after defeats, vigorous after wounds, and though conquered, rejoicing over the victors. A circumstance  
20 of this kind antiquity has related concerning the Lybian An-

tiquitas. Adeo ut hinc sane non levi de causa carmen istud *Ovidianum* possit quispiam in dubium vocare, an scilicet ultima cœlestum terras reliquerit *Astræa*; vereor etenim ne Pax & Veritas multis post eam sæculis invisos etiam mortales  
5 deseruerint. Nam certe si illa adhuc in terris diversaretur, quis inducatur ut credat, luscum & cæcutientem errorem veritatem Solis æmulam posse intueri, quin plane vincatur oculorum acies, quin & ipse rursus abigatur ad inferos, unde primum emersus est? At vero citra dubium aufugit in cæ-  
10 lum, patriam suam misellis hominibus nunquam reditura; & jam totis in Scholis dominatur immundus error, & quasi rerum potitus est, non instrenuos utique & non paucos nactus assertores. Quarum accessione virium, ultra quam ferri potest inflatus, quænam est ulla Physiologiæ particula vel  
15 minutula, in quam non impetiverit, quam non profanis violaverit unguibus, quemadmodum Harpías *Phinci* Regis *Aracadum* mensas conspurcasse accepimus? unde sane eò res deducta est, ut lautissima Philosophiæ cupedia, ipsis quibus Superi vescuntur Dapibus non minus opipara, nunc suis con-  
20 viviiis nauseam faciant. Contingit enim sæpenumero ingentia Philosophorum volumina evolventi, & diurnis nocturnisque manibus obterenti, ut dimittatur incertior quam fuerit pridem. Quicquid enim affirmat hic, & satis valido se putat statuminare argumento, refellit alter nullo negotio aut sal-

teus. Besides indeed, not for a light reason could anyone call into question that Ovidian story; whether, for instance, Astraea was the last of the goddesses to leave the earth; for I suspect that Peace and Truth would not have abandoned even  
5 hostile mortals many ages after her. Certainly, if she were sojourning up to this time on earth, who would be led to believe that Error, one-eyed and dim-sighted, could gaze at Truth, rivaling the sun, without surely losing the keenness of his eyes, without being himself driven to the lower regions  
10 again, whence he arose in the first place? But truly beyond a doubt she fled away to the skies, never to return to her home among wretched humanity; and foul Error is lord and master in all the schools and is the chief power in affairs, finding defenders who are certainly not sluggish and who are not few in  
15 numbers. By the addition of which powers, puffed up beyond what can be endured, what part of natural science, pray, is there, even quite minute, upon which he has not rushed, which he has not profaned with his dirty nails, even as we have heard that the Harpies polluted the tables of Phineus, king of the Ar-  
20 cadians? Whence the matter has truly come to this point, that the choicest viands of philosophy, not less rich than those very delicacies upon which the supernals dine, now produce nausea in their feasts; for it happens again and again to one unrolling the huge tomes of the philosophers and to one wearing them  
25 out by daily and nightly handling, that he is dismissed in a more uncertain state than he was in the first place. For whatsoever one affirms and believes he supports by a sufficiently valid argument, another shows to be of no consequence, or at

tem refellere videtur, atque ita pene in infinitum semper habet hic quod opponat, semper ille quod respondeat; dum miser interim Lector hinc atque inde tanquam inter duas belluas diu divulsus ac discerptus, tædióque prope enectus, 5 tandem veluti in bivio relinquitur, huc an illuc inclinet plane anceps animi: ab utro autem stet veritas, fortasse (ne vera dissimulem) non est operæ pretium eâ, quâ expedit, industriâ explorare: quippe sæpius de re perquam minimi momenti maxima inter Centurias philosophantium agitur contraversia. Cæterum videor mihi inaudire submussitantes 10 quosdam, quò nunc se proripit ille? dum in errorem invehitur, ipse toto errat Cœlo: equidem agnosco erratum; neque hoc fecissem, nisi de vestro candore magna mihi pollicitus. Jam igitur tandem accingamur ad institutum opus: & his 15 tantis difficultatibus Dea Lua (quod ait *Lipsius*) me fœliciter expediat. Quæstio quæ nobis hodie proponitur enucleanda hæc est, an interitu cujuslibet rei detur resolutio usque ad materiam primam? Quod aliis verbis sic proferre solent, an ulla accidentia quæ fuere in corrupto maneat etiam in genito? hoc est, an intereunte formâ omnia intereant accidentia 20 quæ in composito præextiterant? Magna quidem est inter

least he seems to refute it. And so the one has always almost without end the point that he affirms, and the other always what he replies; while the wretched reader in the meantime, long tossed and torn this way and that, as it were between two  
5 monsters, and almost killed with weariness, at length is left as though at a crossway, quite uncertain in mind whether to turn in one direction or the other. Upon which side Truth, however, may abide perhaps — I would not conceal the facts — it is not worth while to investigate with that industry which is  
10 profitable; for often a very great controversy is carried on by hundreds of philosophic investigators about a matter of exceedingly small importance.

But I seem to hear some persons murmuring, Whither is that fellow now racing? While he inveighs against error, he  
15 himself is errant over the universe. Indeed, I acknowledge the errancy; nor would I have done this had I not promised myself great things from your open minds. Now therefore at length let us gird our loins to begin the task. May the goddess Lua, as Lipsius says, happily deliver me from these great  
20 difficulties!

The question which is set before us today for solution is this: whether when anything whatever is destroyed a resolution to primary matter occurs. This men are accustomed to express in other words, as follows: whether any accidents which have  
25 existed in a disintegrated body still abide in the body that is produced. That is, whether when the form is destroyed, all the accidents perish which formerly existed in the compound. A great difference of opinion about this problem exists even

multos haud quaquam obscuri nominis Philosophos hac de re sententiarum discrepantia; hi dari ejusmodi resolutionem contendunt acerrimè, illi neutiquam dare posse mordicus defendunt; hos ut sequar inclinatus animus, ab illis ut longe lateque dissentiam tum ratione adductus, uti opinor, tum etiam tantorum virorum autoritate: hoc autem quo pacto probari queat, reliquum est ut paulisper experiamur; idque succincte quoad poterimus, atque primo hunc in modum. Si fiat resolutio ad Materiam primum subinfertur inde essentialis istud effatum, nempe eam nunquam reperiri nudam, materiæ primæ perperam attribui; occurrent adversarii, hoc dicitur respectu formæ, verum sic habento Scioli isti formas substantiales nullibi gentium reperiri citra formas accidentarias: sed hoc leve, nec causæ admodum jugulum petit; 15 firmiora his adhibenda sunt. Atque inprimis videamus ecquos habeamus veterum Philosophorum nostrarum partium fautores; inquirentibus ecce ultro se nobis offert *Aristoteles* cumque lectissima manu suorum interpretum se nobis agglomerat; quippe velim intelligatis Auditores, ipso duce & hortatore *Aristotele* initum hoc prælium, & bonis avibus, uti spero, auspicatum. Qui quidem id ipsum quod nos arbitramur, innuere videtur, *Metaph. 7. Text. 8.* ubi ait quantitatem primò inesse materiæ; huic perinde sententiæ quicun-

among philosophers whose names are by no means obscure. Some contend very ardently that a resolution of this kind takes place; others maintain firmly that in no wise can it occur. As I understand the problem, my mind is inclined to follow the  
5 latter, being led both by reason and, as I think, by the authority of great men to differ very widely from the former. In what manner this can be proved remains for us to examine for a little while; and this as briefly as possible, and at first in this manner.

- 10 If a resolution to primary matter occurs, then it is subjoined that that essential dictum, namely, that it is never to be found pure, is wrongly ascribed to primary matter. My opponents will reply: "This is said with respect to form." But let those numbskulls bear this in mind, that substantial  
15 forms are found nowhere in the world apart from accidental forms. But this is trivial; it does not grasp the case by the very throat; stronger arguments than these must be added.

Now in the first place, let us see whether we have any partisans among the old philosophers on our side. To us who are  
20 inquiring, behold of his own accord Aristotle presents himself and, with a very select band of his interpreters, attaches himself to our side; for indeed I would desire you to understand, my hearers, that this battle was started by Aristotle himself as leader and inciter, and, as I hope, was begun under  
25 good auspices. He indeed seems to affirm the very thing that we hold as true, when he says in *Metaphysics* 7, *Text* 8, that quantity first of all is inherent in matter. Accordingly, whoever shall gainsay this opinion, I can boldly bring an indict-



que refragabitur, possum illi dicam hereseos ex lege omnium sapientium audacter scribere. Quinimo alibi plane vult quantitatem materiæ primæ proprietatem, quod idem asserunt plerique ejus sectatores; proprium autem à suo subjecto avel-  
5 lentem quis ferat ipsâ vel edititii judicis sententiâ: Verum age, cominus agamus, & quod suadeat ratio perpendamus. Assertio itaque probatur primo hinc, quod materia habet propriam entitatem actualem ex suâ propriâ existentiâ, ergo potest sustentare quantitatem, eam, saltem quæ dicitur inter-  
10 minata. Quid? quod nonnulli confidenter affirmant formam non nisi mediante quantitate in materiam recipi, Secundo, Si accidens corrumpitur, necesse habet ut his tantum modis corrumpatur, vel per introductionem contrarii, vel per desitionem termini, vel per absentiam alterius causæ conservan-  
15 tis, vel denique ex defectu proprii subjecti cui inhæreat; priori modo nequit corrumpi quantitas, posteaquam contrarium non habeat; & quantumvis habeat qualitas hic tamen introduci non est supponendum: Secundus modus huc non spectat, utpote qui sit relatorum proprius; Nec per absentiam  
20 causæ conservantis, ea enim, quam assignant adversarii, est forma; accidentia autem à forma pendere concipiuntur bifariam, vel in genere causæ formalis, aut efficientis; prior dependentia non est immediata, forma enim substantialis non

ment of heresy against him in conformity with the law of all wise men. Yea, indeed, in another place he clearly maintains that quantity is a property of primary matter, which the most of his adherents likewise affirm; but who, upon the very best judgment even of an authority selected by the opposition may assert the tearing of a property from its subject?

But proceed, let us come to grips, and let us weigh carefully what reason recommends. The assertion, accordingly, is proved in the first place by this: that matter has its own real entity by virtue of its own existence; therefore, it can support quantity, at least that kind which is called unbounded. Moreover, some confidently affirm that form is not received in matter unless quantity mediates.

In the second place, if an accident is destroyed, it must necessarily follow that it is destroyed by these methods only: either by the introduction of a contrary, or by the cessation of a term, or by the absence of another conserving cause, finally by the absence of the proper subject to which it belongs. By the first method, quantity cannot be destroyed, seeing that it does not have a contrary; and, although quality does have, it however is not supposed to be introduced. The second method does not apply, as being one that is the property of relative terms. Nor does the method "by the absence of a conserving cause," for that which the adversaries assign is form. Moreover, accidents are conceived to depend upon form in two ways: either in the class of the formal cause or of the efficient cause. In the first, the dependency is not immediate, for the substantial form does not give form to the

informat accidentia, neque intelligi potest quod aliud munus  
exerceat circa ea in hoc genere causa, ideoque tantummodo  
mediata est, nimirum in quantum materia dependet à forma,  
& hæc deinceps à materia; modus dependentiæ posterior  
5 est in genere causæ efficientis, à forma tamen an acci-  
dentia pendeant in hoc genere necne, in ambiguo res est:  
sed ut donemus ita esse, non sequitur tamen, depereunte  
formâ juxta etiam perire accidentia, propterea quod causæ  
illi recedenti, succedit e vestigio alia similis omnino sufficiens  
10 ad conservandum eundem numero effectum absque interrup-  
tione: Postremo, quod non ex defectu proprii subjecti in ni-  
hilum recidit quantitas aliâque id genus accidentia, probatur  
quia subjectum quantitatis est aut compositum, aut forma,  
aut materia; quod compositum non sit, ex eo liquet; quod  
15 accidens quod est in composito attingit simul suâ unione &  
materiam & formam per modum unius, at vero quantitas  
non potest ullo modo attingere animam rationalem, dum  
hæc spiritualis sit, & effectus formalis quantitatis, hoc est ex-  
tentionis quantitativæ minime capax; porro quod forma non  
20 sit subjectum ejus, ex supradictis satis est perspicuum: restat  
igitur ut materia sola sit subjectum quantitatis, atque ita  
præciditur omnis interitus illatio in quantitate. Quod per-

accidents, nor can it be perceived what other function may be at work in respect to that cause in this class, and for that reason it is merely mediate. Without doubt, to whatever extent matter depends upon form, that also in turn depends upon matter.

- 5 The next method of dependency is in the class of the efficient cause. Nevertheless, there is doubt whether accidents in this class depend upon form or not. But although we may grant it is so, yet it does not follow that when form is destroyed the accidents in like manner also perish, for this reason: that to  
10 the cause which disappears another sufficiently like it in every respect instantly takes its place, to conserve exactly the same effect without interruption.

- Lastly, the circumstance that quantity and, in respect to this class, other accidents do not vanish into nothingness on  
15 account of the disappearance of their own substance, is proved by the fact that the subject of quantity is either a compound or form or matter. That it is not a compound will be clear from this, that the accident which is in the compound appertains at the same time, by their union, both to matter and form  
20 through the mode of unity. But in truth, quantity can by no means pertain to the rational soul, since this is spiritual and not in the least capable of the effect of formal quantity; that is, of quantitative extension.

- Next, that form is not its subject is easily perceived from  
25 what has been said before. It remains, therefore, that matter alone is the subject of quantity, and thus the conclusion of all destruction in connection with quantity is excluded.

In respect to what is commonly adduced concerning a scar,

tinet ad id quod vulgo affertur de cicatrice, argumentum efficacissimum esse censeo; quis enim mihi fidem adeo extorqueat, ut credam eam in cadavere plane diversam esse ab ea quæ fuit nuperrime in vivo, cum nulla subsit ratio, nulla necessitas corrigendi sensus nostri, qui raro quidem hallucinatur circa proprium objectum; citiusque ego & facilius audirem de Larvis, deque Empusis mira commemorantem, quam cerebrosos hosce Philosophastros de accidentibus suis de novo procreatis stulte & insubide obgannientes. Etenim  
10 calorem, cæterasque animalis qualitates intensibiles & remissibiles easdem prorsus pernovimus in ipso mortis articulo, & post mortem itidem; quorsum enim destruerentur hæ, cum aliæ similes sint producendæ? Huc accedit, quod si de novo procrearentur, ad tempus non adeo exiguum durarent, neque  
15 etiam repente ad summum pervenirent intensionis gradum, sed paulatim & quasi pedetentim. Adde quod vetustissimum sit axioma, quantitatem sequi materiam, & qualitatem formam. Potui quidem, immo ac debui huic rei diutius immorari, ac profecto nescio an vobis, mihimet certe ipse maximo-  
20 pere sum tædio. Superest ut jam ad adversariorum argumenta descendamus, quæ faxint Musæ, ut ego in materiam primam si fieri potest, vel potius in nihilum redigam. Quod ad primum attinet, *Aristotelis* testimonium, quod dixerit in generatione non manere subjectum sensibile, occurrimus illud  
25 intelligi debere de subjecto completo & integro (i.e.) de sub-

I believe the argument is most powerful; for who can wrest my faith to the extent that I should believe it is quite different in a dead body from that which it was very recently in a living body, when no reason is at hand, no necessity for adjusting  
5 our impression which seldom indeed is deceived in respect to a proper object. Truly, I would more quickly and more easily hear one mentioning the wonders of ghosts and hobgoblins, than those harebrained philosophasters growling stupidly and foolishly about their newly begotten accidents. For we have  
10 examined carefully in the very moment of death and likewise after death, heat and those other animal qualities capable of intensification and remission; for why should these be destroyed when others like them must be produced? So far it has happened that if they should be newly begotten, they  
15 would last for a time not indeed short, nor would they arrive suddenly at the highest degree of intensification, but gradually and as it were step by step. Add to this the most ancient axiom, that quantity follows matter and quality follows form. I could indeed, nay, I even ought to linger longer on this point,  
20 but I am not sure whether I am boring to you; certainly I am very boring to myself.

It now remains to go on to the arguments of the opponents, which might the Muses grant that I may reduce to prime matter, if it can be done, or rather into nothingness.

25 In regard to the first point, the testimony of Aristotle, that the sensible subject does not abide during generation, we oppose that it ought to be understood concerning the complete and entire subject; i.e., concerning the substantial compound,

stantiali composito, quod testatur *Philoponus* antiquus & eruditus Scriptor. 2. Quod inquit *Arist.* materia est nec quid, nec quantum, nec quale, hoc non dicitur quod nullâ quantitate aut qualitate afficiatur, sed quia ex se, & in entitate sua  
5 nullam aut quantitatem aut qualitatem includat. Tertio, Ait *Arist.* destructis primis substantiis destrui omnia accidentia, quod sane futurum non inficiamur si ipsi corruptæ subinde succederet alia. Postremo, Formam inquit recipi in materiam nudam; hoc est, nuditate formæ substantialis. Adhuc  
10 inrudescit pugna, & nutat victoria, sic enim instaurato prælio incursant; materia quandoquidem sit pura potentia, nullum habet esse præterquam illud quod emendicatâ formâ, unde non satis ex se valet ad sustentanda accidentia, nisi prius ad minimum naturâ jungatur formæ à qua τὸ εἶναι accep-  
15 tum ferat; huic errori sic mederi solent, materiam primam suam habere proprium esse, quod licet in genere substantiæ sit incompletum, cum accidente tamen si conferatur esse simpliciter haud incommode dici potest. Quinetiam objiciunt materiam respicere formam substantialem ut actum primum,  
20 at accidentia ut actus secundarios. Respondeo, materiam respicere formam prius ordine intentionis, non generationis aut executionis. Gliscit jam atque effervescit contentio, & tanquam ad internecionem dimicaturi urgent nos acius hunc

which the ancient and scholarly writer, Philoponus, testifies. As to the second point, Aristotle says that matter is neither substance, nor quantity, nor quality. This does not mean that it is not connected with quantity and quality, but that of itself  
5 and in its own entity it includes neither quantity nor quality. Thirdly, Aristotle says that when primary substances are destroyed all of the accidents are destroyed; because evidently we may not corrupt what is to be if another accident take the place immediately of the very one destroyed. Lastly, he says  
10 form is received in empty matter; that is, in matter empty of the substantial form.

At this moment the battle becomes violent and victory sways to and fro, for they rush into the struggle anew in this fashion: Since indeed matter is pure potency, it has nothing  
15 except that which is obtained by begging from form; whence it is not of itself able to support accidents, unless first at least it is united by nature to form, by which being may be received. For this error men are wont to provide a remedy in this way: that primary matter has its own proper being, which although  
20 it is incomplete in the class of substance; nevertheless, if it is compared with accident, it can be called conveniently being in an absolute sense. Nay, they even set up the argument that matter is related to substantial form as a primary actuality, but to accidents as secondary actualities. I reply that matter is  
25 related to form first in the order of intention, not of generation or of performance.

Now the argument blazes up and boils over; and as if about to struggle to extermination, they press us keenly after this



ad modum: omnis proprietas manat active ab essentia ejus  
cujus est proprietas; quantitas autem hoc nequit, quia hæc  
dimanatio est aliqua efficientia, materia autem secundum se  
nullam habet efficientiam, cum sit mere passiva; ergo, *etc.*

- 5 Respondeo, duobus modis posse intelligi naturalem conjunctionem materiæ cum quantitate, ratione solum potentiæ passivæ intrinsecus naturâ suâ postulantis talem affectionem; neque enim ulla impellit necessitas, ut omnis innata proprietas sit debita subjecto ratione principii activi; namque in-
- 10 terdum sufficit passivum, quo modo multi opinantur motum esse naturalem cælo. Secundo potest & intelligi per intrinsecam dimanationem activam, cum in se habeat veram & actualementiam. Sed nec adhuc omnis amissa spes victoriæ; iterum enim facto impetu adoriuntur, inferentes ideo
- 15 formam mediâ quantitate in materiam recipi, quoniam inest materiæ prius: nos è contra aperte reclamamus huic sequelæ, & nihilominus quo omnia possimus salva reddere, hac utimur distinctione, recipi formam in materiam mediâ quantitate ut dispositione, seu conditione necessariâ, verum nullo
- 20 modo tanquam potentiâ proxime receptivâ formæ. Ultimo, sic arguunt, si quantitas insit materiæ soli sequitur esse ingenerabilem & incorruptibilem; quod videtur repugnare,

fashion: Every property diffuses actively from the essence of that of which it is the property; but quantity cannot do this, because this diffusion is a sort of efficiency; but matter of its self has no efficiency, since it is merely passive; therefore, etc.

- 5 I reply, that the natural conjunction of matter with quantity can be understood in two ways: first, by reason alone of the passive power within demanding according to its own nature such an affection; for no necessity urges that every innate property be present in a subject by reason of an active principle,  
10 for on the other hand a passive is sufficient, even as many think motion is natural to the heavens; second, it is possible also for motion to be understood through an inner active diffusion, since it may have in itself a true and actual essence.

- But all hope of victory has not yet been abandoned, for  
15 again making an attack, they approach with hostile intent, asserting indeed that form through the medium of quantity is received into matter, since it belongs first to matter. We, on the contrary, openly protest against this inference, and nevertheless that we may save all our points we employ this distinction: form is received in matter through the medium of quan-  
20 tity as by a disposition or by an inevitable condition, but in no way, however, by a receptive potency proximate to form.

- Finally, they argue in this way: if quantity belongs to matter only, it follows that it is ingenerable and indestructible.  
25 That seems to be contradictory, because motion itself has to do with quantity. But we indeed grant the consequence, because quantity really is indestructible with respect to its own entity, although, with respect to the various terms, it can begin to be

quia motus per se fit ad quantitatem. At nos utique largimur consequentiam, quippe revera quantitas est incorruptibilis quoad suam entitatem, licet quoad varios terminos possit incipere & desinere esse per conjunctionem & divisionem quantitatis, neque enim est per se motus ad quantitatis productionem, sed ad accretionem; & nec eo fit quasi nova quantitas incipiat esse in rerum natura, sed eo quod una quantitas adjungatur alteri, & quæ erat aliena fit propria. Possem equidem plura argumenta ultro citroque proferre, quæ tamen  
 5  
 10 tædii levandi gratia prætermitto; hic igitur satius erit receptui canere.

## In Scholis Publicis.

*Non dantur formæ partiales in animali  
 præter totalem.*

ROMANI rerum olim Domini altissimum imperii fastigium adepti sunt, quale nec *Assyria* Magnitudo, nec *Virtus Macedonica* unquam potuit attingere,  
 15 quò nec futura Regum Majestas efferre se olim valebit: sive ipse *Jupiter* annis jam gravior, cœloque contentus suo in otium se tradere voluerit, commissis Populo Romano tanquam Diis terrestribus rerum humanarum habenis; sive hoc *Saturno* Patri in *Italiam* detruso ad amissi cœli solatium concesserit,  
 20 ut *Quirites* ejus nepotes, quicquid uspiam est, terræ, maris-

and cease to be by a union and a separation of quantity, for motion itself has to do not with the production of quantity, but with its increase. And this occurs not as if a new quantity takes on being in the nature of things, but because one  
5 quantity is added to another and what was foreign does become proper.

I could indeed produce many arguments on both sides, which, however, I pass by for the sake of alleviating your fatigue. At this point, therefore, it will be enough to sound a  
10 retreat.

## V.

## IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

*Partial forms do not occur in an animal in addition to the whole*

THE Romans, once upon a time masters of the world, attained the highest reach of empire, such as neither Assyrian magnitude nor Macedonian valor were ever able to approach; to which no future power of kings will be  
15 able to raise itself again. Either Jupiter himself, now somewhat burdened with years and comfortable in his heaven, had wished to spend his days in peace by yielding to the Roman people as though to earthly gods the reins of human affairs; or he had granted to Father Saturn, cast down into Italy as a  
20 solace for his lost heaven, this: that the Roman citizens, his descendants, should be rulers over everything whatsoever on

que potirentur. Utcunque certe non ultro largitus est hoc illis beneficium, sed per assidua bella, perque longos labores ægre dedit, exploraturas opinor, an *Romani* soli digni viderentur, qui summi vices *Jovis* inter mortales gererent; itaque  
5 parce duriterque vitam degere coacti sunt, quippe inchoatas pacis blanditias abruptit semper belli clamor, & circumcirca strepitus armorum. Ad hæc, devictis quibusque urbibus & provinciis præsidia imponere & sæpius renovare necesse habuere, omnemque pene juventutem nunc in longinquam  
10 militiam, nunc in colonias mittere. Cæterum non incruentam semper victoriam domum reportârunt, immo sæpe funestis cladibus affecti sunt. Siquidem *Brennus* Gallorum Dux virescentem modo *Romanam* gloriam pene delevit; & parum abfuit, quo minus divinitus creditum orbis modera-  
15 men abriperit *Romæ Carthago* urbs nobilissima. Denique *Gothi* & *Vandalici* sub *Alarico* Rege, *Hunnique* & *Panonii Attyla* & *Bleda* Ducibus totam inundantes *Italiam*, florentissimas imperii opes, ex tot bellorum spoliis aggestas, misere diripuerunt, *Romanos* paulo ante Reges hominum turpi fugâ  
20 stravêre, ipsamque urbem, ipsam inquam *Romam*, solo nominis terrore ceperunt; quo facto nihil dici aut fingi potuit gloriosus, plane quasi ipsam victoriam aut amore captant,

- land and sea. However it may be, he did not grant this favor to them gratuitously, but he gave it reluctantly, accompanied by unceasing warfare and by tedious toil, seeking to find out, I believe, whether the Romans alone might appear worthy to
- 5 perform the duties of great Jove among mortals. Accordingly, they were compelled to spend their lives in a thrifty and rigorous way, since the sound of war and the clanking of armed men on every side always destroyed the incipient allurements of peace.
- 10 In addition, they were compelled to place, and frequently to renew, garrisons in every conquered city and province, and to send almost all the young men, sometimes into foreign service, sometimes into colonies. Furthermore, they did not always march home with bloodless victories; often indeed they
- 15 were pursued by deadly destruction. For instance, Brennus, leader of the Gauls, once almost destroyed the budding glory of the Romans; and little was lacking but that the most eminent city of Carthage had wrested from Rome the control of the world, though entrusted by the gods. And finally, the
- 20 Goths and Vandals, under Alaric their king, and the Huns and the Pannonians, under the leadership of Attila and Bleda, sweeping over the whole of Italy, tore in shreds the most flourishing resources of the empire, accumulated from the spoils of so many battles; drove the Romans, who a little while before
- 25 were kings of men, in disgraceful flight; and by the mere terror of their name took the city itself, Rome, I say, itself; than which deed nothing more famous can be told or imagined: quite as if they had taken Victory herself either by love,

aut vi & armis exterrefactam in suas traxissent partes. Satis admirati estis Auditores, quorsum hæc omnia protulerim, jam accipite. Hæc ego quoties apud me recolo animoque colligo, toties cogito quantis viribus de tuenda veritate certatum sit, quantis omnium studiis, quantis vigiliis contenditur labantem ubique, & profligatam veritatem ab injuriis hostium asserere. Nec tamen prohiberi potest, quin fœdissima colluvies errorum invadat indies omnes disciplinas, quæ quidem tanta vi aut veneno pollet, ut vel nivæ veritati suam  
5 imaginem inducere valeat, aut sydeream veritatis speciem nescio quo fuce sibi adsciscere, quâ, ut videtur, arte & magnis Philosophis frequenter imposuit, & honores, venerationemque uni veritati debitam sibi arrogavit. Quod in hodierna quæstione videre poteritis, quæ quidem non instrenuos nacta  
10 est pugiles, eosque clari nominis, si relictis hisce partibus veritatem demereri mallent: Itaque nostræ nunc erit operæ, ut nudatum, plumisque emendicatis exutum errorem deformitati nativæ reddamus; quod ut expeditius fiat gravissimorum vestigiis Authorum insistendum esse mihi existimo,  
20 neque enim expectandum est, ut ego quicquam de meo adjiciam quod utique tot viros ingenio præstabiles fugit & præ-

or, terrified by force of arms, had dragged her off into their own country.

You have wondered sufficiently, my listeners, why I have mentioned all these things: now give heed. As often as I call  
5 up these matters and run them over in my mind, so often do I contemplate how great are the forces engaged in the struggle to uphold Truth, how great the zeal of all, how great the watchfulness demanded to defend from the assaults of enemies Truth, everywhere tottering and overcome. Nor is it  
10 possible to prevent the most loathsome mixture of errors from entering every day all learning. Error indeed is so potent or poisonous that it can either substitute its own image for snow-white Truth, or it can join to itself by some unknown artifice a brilliant appearance of Truth; by which art, so it seems, it  
15 frequently deceives even great philosophers and claims for itself honors and veneration due to Truth alone.

This fact you can perceive in to-day's question, which indeed has aroused contestants by no means sluggish and those of distinguished name; provided, by abandoning these opposing  
20 sides, they prefer to do honor to Truth. Accordingly, it will now be our task to return Error to its natal deformity, bare and stripped of its borrowed plumage; which, that it may be more speedily accomplished, I think can be done by setting forth the opinions of the most notable authors, for it must  
25 not be expected that I can add anything of myself to what perchance has escaped the notice of, and been neglected by, so many men preeminent in ability. Therefore, I will state briefly what is sufficient to make the matter clear, and I will fortify



teriit: idcirco quod sufficit ad rem dilucidandam, expromam  
breui, argumentoque uno atque altero tanquam aggere val-  
labo; tum si quid reclamationat, atque obstat nostræ sententiæ  
diluam, ut potero; quæ tamen omnia paucis perstringam, &  
5 quasi extremis alis radam. Contra unitatem formæ, quam in  
una eademque materia statuere semper emunctiores Philo-  
sophi solent, varias opiniones subortas esse legimus; quidam  
enim plures in animali formas totales dari pertinaciter con-  
tendunt, idque pro suo quisque captu varie defendunt; alii  
10 totalem unicam, partiales vero multiplices ejusdem materiæ  
hospitio excipi importunius asseverant. Cum illis ad tempus  
more bellico paciscemur inducias, dum in hos omnem prælii  
vim atque impetum transferimus. Ponatur prima in acie  
*Aristoteles*, qui noster plane est, quique sub finem primi Libri  
15 de Anima, non occulte favet nostræ Assertioni. Huic au-  
thoritati aliquot attexere argumenta non est longæ disquisi-  
tionis opus: præbet se mihi imprimis *Chrysostomus Javellus*,  
cujus è stercorario, nimirum horridulo & incompto stylo,  
Aurum & Margaritas effodere possimus, quæ si quis deli-  
20 catus aspernetur, in illum sane aliquatenus belle quadrabit  
ille *Æsopici* Galli Apologus. In hunc ferme modum argu-  
mentatur; Distinctio illa & Organizatio partium dissimila-

by argument on every side as by a bulwark; then, if anything is contradictory and presents an obstacle to our view, I will present such refutation as I am able. All of these things, however, I will touch briefly and graze them, as it were, with  
5 the tips of my wings.

Against the unity of form, which the more acute philosophers are wont always to posit in one and the same matter, we read that opinions at variance have arisen; for some maintain stoutly that many complete forms are present in the  
10 animal. And this they defend in a variety of ways, each according to his own notion. Others assert quite strongly that there is one only total form, but that numerous partial forms are sustained within the hospice of the same matter. With the  
former for the moment, after the fashion of war, we agree to  
15 an armistice, while we turn the whole force and attack of battle against the latter.

Let there be placed in the front rank Aristotle, who plainly sides with us, and who, toward the end of his first book of the *De Anima*, in no obscure manner favors our assertion.  
20 It is not a work of long investigation to attach to this authority some other arguments. In the first place on my side Chrysostomus Javellus presents himself, from whose dung-hill, to be sure in shaggy and unkempt style, we may dig up gold and pearls. If any voluptuary disdain these, that famous  
25 fable of the Aesopian cock will fit in his case indeed somewhat neatly. He argues for the most part in this manner: That diversity and organization of dissimilar parts must precede the introduction of the soul, inasmuch as it is the

rium præcedere debet introductionem animæ, utpote quæ sit actus corporis non cujuslibet, sed Physici organici; quapropter immediate ante productionem totalis formæ, necesse est corrumpi partiales illas nisi corruat penitus receptissimum  
5 illud Axioma, Generatio unius est alterius Corruptio; quarum productionem non sequitur similium præsentanea productio; id enim frustra foret, & ad Naturæ matris sapientiam parum conveniens. Deinde posteaquam omnis forma, sive perfecta sit, sive imperfecta, tribuat esse specificum, necesse  
10 est, ut quamdiu manet ista forma, tamdiu res illa maneat eadem non variata secundum substantiam suam, proindèque superveniet forma totalis tanquam accidens, non per generationem sed per alterationem. Sequitur porro animam totalem sive divisibilem, sive indivisibilem, non sufficere ad omnes  
15 partes animantis plene perfectæque informandas, quod ut largiamur nulla suadet ratio. Sequitur itidem unam formam substantialem esse quasi dispositionem proximam & permanentem ad aliam, quod veritatis absonum est, quandoquidem unaquæque forma constituit essentiam completam in genere  
20 substantiæ. Postremo, si in omnibus partibus puta hominis plurificentur formæ partiales, ex illis certe consurget una integra distincta ab anima rationali, unde illa erit, aut forma inanimati seu corporeitatis, aut mistionis (quam præter animam in homine dari sane ultra quam credibile est) vel erit  
25 anima sensitiva, aut vegetativa, hoc autem affirmantem nullo

actuality, not of any body whatsoever, but of the physical organism; wherefore, immediately before the production of a total form, it is necessary that those partial forms be destroyed, unless that generally accepted axiom is thoroughly over-  
5 thrown, namely, "The generation of one is the destruction of another"; whose production the immediate production of like things does not follow, for that would be without cause and not accordant enough with the wisdom of Mother Nature.

- 10 Next, since every form, whether perfect or imperfect, imparts specific being, it is necessary that that particular form abide as long as that same thing continues unchanged in accordance with its own substance, and in the same manner the total form supervenes like an accident, not through gener-  
15 ation but through alteration. It follows in turn that the total soul, whether divisible or indivisible, is not sufficient to give form fully and perfectly to all parts of a living creature, which no reason impels us to grant. It follows likewise that the one substantial form is as it were a disposition proximate to and  
20 persistent in an other, which is not accordant with truth, since indeed each form has established a complete essence in the class of substance.

Lastly, if in all parts, for example, of a man partial forms were to be increased in number, surely from these one whole  
25 form distinct from the rational soul will arise, whence that will be either the form of the inanimate or of corporeity, or the form of a mixture, to grant which in addition to the soul in man is quite beyond belief, or it will be either the sensitive

modò audiat cruditor chorus Philosophantium; cujus rei ampliori probatione supersedeo, quoniam in confesso est, nec admodum accedit ad apicem causæ. Verum, quod caput est controversiæ, objiciunt adversarii, partem ab animali amputatam remanere actu post separationem, non per formam totius cum sit extra totum, nec per formam recens acquisitam, cum nullum adsit agens, nulla perceptibilis actio, nulla prævia alteratio; ergo, actu existit per formam propriam quam prius habebat, dum erat una in toto. Atque hoc argumentum arietare se putant causam nostram & funditus evertere: Cæterum non minus vere quam vulgariter solet responderi, formam de novo genitam, cum vilissima sit utpote cadaveris, & quasi via ad resolutionem, certe nec multum temporis, nec dispositiones multas, nec ordinatam alterationem efflagitare. Quid si etiam causa aliqua universalis concurrat cum proximo temperamento ad inducendam qualemcunque formam ne materia reperiatur vacua? Quod autem multiplices visantur in animali operationes, id non à formis distinctis partialibus petendum est, sed ab animæ totalis eminentiâ, quæ quidem æquipollet formis specie distinctis. Cæteras quæ occurrunt, levioris momenti objectiones ex composito præterire libet, neque enim jugulant; faciliusque amoveri, & luculentius redargui poterunt, si forte inter

or vegetative soul. The more learned band of Philosophants will in no wise hear one affirming this. Of which matter I pass by more ample proof, since it is everywhere known and does not advance very much to the climax of the argument.

- 5 In truth, as to the chief point in the controversy, the adversaries present the objection that a part cut off from an animal continues actual after the separation, not through the complete form of the whole since it is away from the whole, nor through a form recently acquired, since there is present no producing  
10 force, no perceptible immanent activity, no heralded change. Therefore, in its activity it exists through its own form which it had in the first place while it was one with the whole.

- And especially do they think to batter our side and demolish it completely by this argument: In other respects not  
15 less rightly than commonly the reply is made that form produced anew, since it happens very commonly in the case of a dead body and one as it were on the way to resolution, does not demand much time, nor many dispositions, nor an orderly alteration. Why, if some universal cause concur also with the  
20 proximate temperament to produce any form whatever, lest matter appear void? But, because numerous activities are seen in the animal, this ought not to be due to distinct partial forms, but to the preeminence of the total soul, which indeed is equivalent to forms specifically distinct.

- 25 It is permissible, according to agreement, to pass over other objections of lesser importance, which the opponents bring up, for they are not convincing, and they can be banished more easily and be more satisfactorily refuted, if per-

disputandum prolatae fuerint in medium. Quocunque res  
redeat tametsi ego causâ cadam, causa non cadet: satis enim  
superque suo *Marte* valet ad se defendendam invicta semper  
Veritas; nec ad id alienis indiget adminiculis; & licet nobis  
5 aliquando superari, & pessum premi videatur, inviolatam  
tamen perpetuò servat se, & intactam ab erroris unguibus;  
in hoc Soli non absimilis, qui sæpe involutum se, & quasi  
inquinatum nubibus ostendit humanis oculis, cum tamen  
collectis in se radiis, totoque ad se revocato splendore puris-  
10 simus ad omni labe colluceat.

chance they should be brought forward openly in the midst of the disputation.

In whatever way the matter may turn out, although I may lose the cause, the cause is not lost: for Truth invincible is  
5 always more than sufficiently powerful in defending herself by her own exertions; nor to accomplish this does she need outside assistance. And even if she seem sometimes vanquished and trodden under foot, nevertheless she always preserves herself unharmed and unscarred by the claws of Error. In this  
10 she is not unlike the Sun, who often shows himself to the eyes of men, enshrouded as it were and befouled by clouds, when, for all that, having gathered his rays into himself and having summoned all his glory to himself, quite unstained by any blemish, he shines resplendent.

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In Feriis æstivis Collegii, sed concurrente, ut solet, tota fere  
Academiæ juventute.

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Oratio.

*Exercitationes nonnunquam Ludicras Philosophiæ  
studiis non obesse.*

CUM ex ea Urbe quæ caput urbium est, huc nuper  
me reciperem, Academici, deliciarum omnium, quibus is locus supra modum affluit, usque ad saginam,  
prope dixerim, satur, sperabam mihi iterum aliquando otium  
5 illud Literarium, quo ego vitæ genere etiam cœlestes animas  
gaudere opinor; eratque penitus in animo jam tandem ab-  
dere me in Literas, & jucundissimæ Philosophiæ perdius &  
pernox assidere; ita semper assolet Laboris & Voluptatis vi-  
cissitudo amovere satietatis tædium, & efficere, ut intermissa  
10 repetantur alacrius. Cum his me incalentem studiis repente  
avocavit, atque abstraxit pervetusti moris fere annua cele-  
britas, jussusque ego sum eam operam quam acquirendæ  
sapientiæ primo destinâram, ad nugas transferre, & novas  
ineptias excogitandas: quasi jam nunc non essent omnia  
15 stultorum plena, quasi egregia illa, & non minus *Argo* de-  
cantata navis stultifera secisset naufragium, plane denique

## VI.

AT THE SUMMER HOLIDAYS OF THE COLLEGE, BUT,  
ACCORDING TO CUSTOM, WITH ALMOST ALL OF THE  
YOUNG MEN OF THE INSTITUTION ASSEMBLED

## ORATION

*That sometimes sportive exercises are not prejudicial to  
philosophic studies*

WHEN I came back hither recently, fellow students, from that city which is the capital of cities, stuffed, I might almost say, to corpulence with all the pleasures in which that place overflows beyond  
5 measure, I hoped I might have again hereafter that literary leisure, a kind of life in which I believe the heavenly spirits rejoice; and there was deeply in my mind a desire now at last to bury myself in literature and to besiege by day and by night most gracious Philosophy: thus always the alternation of labor  
10 and pleasure is wont to banish the weariness of satiety and to bring it to pass that things neglected for a while are taken up again more eagerly. Me, on fire with these desires, the almost annual observance of a very old custom has suddenly summoned and dragged away; and that leisure which I had pri-  
15 marily designed for the acquisition of wisdom I have been ordered to transfer to foolish trifles and to the invention of novel absurdities, as if there were not already quite enough fools, as if that famous ship of fools, celebrated not less than the Argo, had met with shipwreck, and finally as if matter

ac si ipsi *Democrito* materia jam ridendi deesset. Verum date  
quæso veniam, Auditores; hic enim hodiernus mos, utut ego  
liberius paulo sum locutus, sane quidem non est ineptus, sed  
impense potius laudabilis, quod quidem ego jam mihi pro-  
5 posui statim luculentius patefacere. Quod si *Junius Brutus*  
secundus ille rei *Romanæ* conditor, magnus ille ultor regiæ  
libidinis, animum prope Diis immortalibus parem, & miri-  
ficam indolem simulatione vecordiæ suppressere sustinuit;  
certe nihil est, cur me pudeat aliquantisper *μοροσοφῶς* nu-  
10 gari, ejus præsertim jussu, cujus interest, tanquam ædilis hos  
quasi solennes ludos curare. Tum nec mediocriter me pel-  
lexit, & invitavit ad has partes subeundas vestra, vos qui ejus-  
dem estis mecum Collegii, in me nuperrime comperta facili-  
tas, cum enim ante præteritos menses aliquam multos ora-  
15 torio apud vos munere perfuncturus essem, putaremque lu-  
cubrationes meas qualescunque etiam ingratas propemodum  
futuras, & mitiores habituras judices *Æacum* & *Minoa*, quam  
è vobis fere quemlibet, sane præter opinionem meam, præter  
meam si quid erat speculæ, non vulgari sicuti ego accepi, imo  
20 ipse sensi, omnium plausu exceptæ sunt, immo eorum, qui  
in me alias propter studiorum dissidia essent prorsus infenso  
& inimico animo: generosum utique simultatis exercendæ

for jesting were wanting at this time to Democritus himself.

But grant me pardon, I beseech you, my hearers; for this exercise, which we are celebrating to-day, although I have been a little too free-spoken about it, is in truth really not senseless,  
5 but rather exceedingly praiseworthy; which fact indeed I have proposed to myself at this time to set forth at once more clearly. Wherefore if Junius Brutus, that second founder of the Roman state, that great punisher of royal lust, dared suppress, by feigning idiocy, a soul almost equal to the immortal  
10 gods, and a wondrous natural ability; surely there is no reason why I should be ashamed to play the fool for a while with silly wisdom, especially by order of him whose business it is, like an aedile, to preside over these presumably solemn diversions. Besides, to no small degree, your courteousness, very  
15 lately made known to me—you who are members of the same college with me—has allured and enticed me to undertake these duties; for, when I was about to perform an oratorical function before you, some months gone by, and I thought that any lucubrations whatsoever of mine would cer-  
20 tainly be quite disagreeable, and that Aeacus and Minos would be more lenient judges than almost any of you; truly, beyond my belief, beyond whatever slight hope I had, they were received, as I noted, nay rather, I myself felt, with unusual applause from all, yea even from those who at other times, on  
25 account of disagreements over our studies, possessed an absolutely hostile and unfriendly spirit: truly a magnanimous way of exercising rivalry and one not unworthy of a royal heart; since indeed, when friendship itself very frequently is wont to

genus, & regio pectore non indignum; siquidem cum ipsa  
amicitia plerumque multa inculpate facta detorquere soleat,  
tunc profecto acris & infesta inimicitia errata forsitan multa,  
& haud pauca sine dubio indiserte dicta, leniter & clementius  
5 quam meum erat meritum interpretari non gravabatur. Jam  
semel unico hoc exemplo vel ipsa demens ira mentis compos  
fuisse videbatur, & hoc facto furoris infamiam abluisse. At  
vero summopere oblector, & mirum in modum voluptate  
perfundor, cum videam tantâ doctissimorum hominum fre-  
10 quentiâ circumfusum me, & undique stipatum: Et rursus  
tamen cum in me descendo, & quasi flexis introrsum oculis  
meam tenuitatem secretus intueor, equidem sæpius mihimet  
soli conscius erubesco & repentina quædam ingruens mœsti-  
tia subsilientem deprimit & jugulat lætitiâ. Sed nolite Aca-  
15 demici, sic me jacentem & consternatum, & acie oculorum  
vestrorum tanquam de cœlo tactum, nolite quæso sic dese-  
rere; erigat me semianimum, quod potest, & refocillet vestri  
favoris aura, ita fiet, ut, vobis authoribus, non admodum  
grave sit hoc malum; at remedium mali vobis exhibentibus,  
20 eo jucundius & acceptius; adeo ut mihi fuerit perquam gra-  
tum sic sæpius exanimari, modo liceat à vobis recrearime  
toties & refici. At O interim singularem in vobis vim, atque  
eximiam virtutem, quæ tanquam hasta illa *Achillea, Vulcani*

misrepresent many things done without bad intent, then truly bitter and hostile enmity did not unwillingly interpret in a kindly way and more indulgently than was my desert many things spoken perhaps erroneously and not a few doubtless  
5 unskilfully. Now, in a word, by this unparalleled example even foolish rage itself was seen to be sane of mind and by this circumstance had washed away the disgrace of madness.

But in truth, I am highly delighted and in wonderful fashion I am filled with pleasure when I behold myself surrounded  
10 and encompassed on every side by so great a concourse of most learned men. Yet on the other hand, however, when I descend into myself, and, as it were with my eyes turned inwardly, I secretly look upon my weakness, of which I alone am often conscious, I blush, while a certain unexpected sadness, rushing in, presses down and chokes my leaping joy.  
15 But do not thus, fellow students, I beseech you, do not thus leave me in the lurch, me prostrate and dismayed, struck by the keenness of your eyes as though by lightning. May the breath of your goodwill stimulate me, half dead, as it can, and  
20 revive me. May it so happen, by your commands, that this torment be not too severe. Nevertheless, with you providing a remedy for the evil, I proceed more happily and more entertainingly; so much so that it will be exceedingly pleasant for me to be frequently terrified, provided that it be permitted  
25 me to be revived and refreshed as many times by you. But O, in the meanwhile, the remarkable power in you and the extraordinary virtue, which like that famous spear of Achilles, gift of Vulcan, wounds and heals!

munus, vulnerat & medicatur! Cæterum nec miretur quispiam, si ego tot eruditione insignes viros, totumque pene Academiæ florem huc confluisse, tanquam inter astra positus triumphem; vix etenim opinor plures olim *Athenas* ad-  
5 ventasse ad audiendum duos Oratores summos *Demosthenem* & *Æschinem* de principatu eloquentiæ certantes, nec eam unquam fœlicitatem contigisse peroranti *Hortensio*, nec tot tam egregie literatos viros condecorasse orantem *Ciceronem*; adeo ut quamvis ego hoc opus minus fœliciter absol-  
10 vero, erit tamen mihi honori non aspernando in tanto concursu conventuque præstantissimorum hominum vel verba fecisse. Atque hercle non possum ego nunc, quin mihi blandiuscule plaudam qui vel *Orpheo*, vel *Amphione* multo sim meo iudicio fortunatior: hi enim chordulis suavi concentu  
15 adsonantibus digitos tantum docte & perite admovebant; eratque in ipsis fidibus, & in apto dextroque manuum motu æqualis utrinque pars dulcedinis: atqui ego si quid hodie laudis hinc reportavero, ea sane & tota erit & vere mea, tantoque nobilior, quanto ingenii opus vincit ac præstat manuum  
20 artificium. Deinde hi saxa, & feras, sylvasque ad se trahebant, & si quos homines, rudes illos & agrestes: at ego doctissimas mihi deditas aures, & ab ore meo pendentes video. Novissime agrestes illi, & feræ jam satis notam & complu-

Besides, let no one wonder if I, stationed as it were among the stars, rejoice exceedingly that so many men renowned for scholarship and that almost the whole flower of the academic world have flocked hither. Indeed, I can hardly believe that  
5 in olden times greater numbers came to Athens to hear the two most distinguished orators, Demosthenes and Aeschines, contending for oratorical supremacy; nor that ever this felicity happened to Hortensius when pleading; nor that so many men so remarkably versed in letters graced with their presence a  
10 Ciceronian display of oratory. Accordingly, although I may bring this task to a finish with little grace, nevertheless I shall regard it as an honor, not to be despised, even to have uttered words in so great a gathering and assemblage of most eminent men.

15 Moreover, by Hercules, I cannot but applaud myself at this moment with a little more unction because I am luckier by far in my body of judges than either Orpheus or Amphion; for they merely applied their fingers cunningly and skilfully to little strings, attuned with pleasing harmony; and an equal  
20 portion of the charm of both lay in the strings themselves and in the proper and correct movement of the hands; whereas, if I shall win any praise here to-day, it will certainly be wholly and truly mine by as much as a superior work of genius conquers and excels the craft of the hands. Further, they drew  
25 to themselves rocks, beasts, and trees, and, if there were any men, those who were rude and rustic: but I behold ears, most learned, loaned to me and hanging upon my lips. Lastly, those rustics and many wild beasts followed a harmony of



ries exauditam sequebantur nervorum harmoniam; vos vero huc rapuit, & jam detinet sola expectatio. Sed tamen Academici, hîc vos imprimis commonefactos volo, me non hæc gloriosius crepuisse; utinam enim mihi vel in præsentia concederetur melleum illud, seu verius Nectareum Eloquentiæ flumen quicquid unquam *Attica* vel *Romana* ingenia imbuebat olim, & quasi cœlitus irrorabat, utinam mihi liceret omnem penitus *Suadæ* medullam exugere, & ipsius etiam *Mercurii* scrinia suffurari, omnesque elegantiarum loculos  
5 funditus exinanire, quo possim aliquid tanta expectatione, tam præclaro cœtu, tam denique tersis & delicatis auribus dignum adferre. Ecce, Auditores, quo me raptat & impellit vehementissimus ardor & prolubium placendi vobis, quippe de improvise me provectum sentio in ambitionem quandam,  
15 sed eam sane piam, & honestum, si hoc fieri potest, Sacrilegium. Et certe existimo haudquaquam mihi opus esse Musarum auxilium implorare & exposcere, iis enim me circumseptum puto, qui Musas omnes spirant & Gratias, totumque reor *Heliconæ*, & quæcunque sunt alia Musarum delubra ad  
20 hunc diem celebrandum omnes suos effudisse alumnos; adeo ut credibile sit jam nunc propter eorum absentiam lugere &

strings already sufficiently known and clearly heard; but you, expectation alone has drawn hither and now detains.

But, however it be, fellow students, I wish you to bear in mind especially at this time, that I have not made these remarks boastingly, for would that just at this moment that  
5 honey-sweet, or, more truly, nectarian, flood of eloquence were granted to me, such as once in former times saturated and bedewed as though from heaven the Attic and Roman genius. Would that it were permitted me to suck out from  
10 the innermost recesses all the marrow of Persuasion, and to filch from the chests of Mercury himself, and to empty to the bottom all the coffers of elegant sayings; so that I might be able to deliver something worthy of such great expectation, of such a renowned assembly, and finally of ears so pure and  
15 fastidious.

Behold, my auditors, whither a most violent desire and inclination for pleasing you carries me off and drives me; since unexpectedly I feel that I have been swept into a certain excessive desire to please, a sacrilege, but a pure and virtuous  
20 one, if such a thing can be. And undoubtedly, I am of the opinion that there is hardly any need for me to beseech and implore aid of the Muses, because I believe I am surrounded by those who are full of all the Muses and Graces; and I imagine that all Helicon, and whatsoever shrines of the Muses  
25 there are in addition, have poured forth all their foster children for the purpose of taking part in the exercises of this day; so that it is credible, on account of their absence at this very moment, that the laurels of Parnassus weep and drop their

deflorescere *Parnassi* Lauros; unde profecto frustra erit Musas, & Charites, & Libentias usquam terrarum quæritare, quam in hoc loco; quod si ita sit, necesse est protinus ipsam Barbariem, Errorem, Ignorantiam, & omne illud Musis in-  
5 visum genus quam celerrimè aufugere ad aspectum vestrum, & sub diverso longe cœlo abscondere sese; atque deinde quidem quid obstat, quo minus quicquid est barbaræ, incultæ & obsoletæ locutionis abigatur extemplò ab Oratione mea, atque ego afflatu vestro, & arcano instinctu disertus & poli-  
10 tus subito evadam. Utcunque tamen vos, Auditores, obtestor, ne quem vestrûm pœniteat meis paulisper vacâsse nugis; ipsi enim Dii omnes, cœlestis politiæ curâ ad tempus depositâ, depugnantium homunculorum spectaculo sæpius interfuisse perhibentur; aliquoties etiam humiles non dedignati  
15 casus, & paupere hospitio excepti, fabas & olera narrantur esitâsse. Obsecro itidem ego vos, atque oro, Auditores optimi, ut hoc meum quale quale convivium ad subtile vestrum & sagax palatum faciat. Verum etiamsi ego permultos noverim Sciolos quibus usitatissimum est, si quid ignorârunt,  
20 id superbe & inscite apud alios contemnere, tanquam indignum cui operam impendant suam; quemadmodum hic Dialecticam insulse vellicat, quam nunquam assequi potuerit;

flowers; whence indeed it will be vain to seek anywhere on earth for the Muses and Graces and Goddesses of delight, except in this place. If this is so, it necessarily follows at once that Barbarism itself, Error, Ignorance, and all that sort, de-  
5 tested by the Muses, will flee as speedily as possible at the sight of you and hide themselves far away under a different sky; and then indeed what opposes the removal at once from my oration of any barbarous, inelegant, and obsolete expression; and, by your inspiration and secret instigation, my suddenly  
10 becoming fluent and polished.

At any rate, however, I conjure you, my hearers, not to repent that any of you have had just a little leisure for my foolish remarks; for all of the gods themselves, laying aside for a time the administration of heavenly affairs, are said to  
15 have been present frequently at the spectacle of little human beings violently contending; also at different times, not despising humble circumstances and housed in poor quarters, they are said to have partaken of beans and greens. Accordingly I hope and pray you, most excellent listeners, that this  
20 little so-so feast of mine may please your dainty and acute palates.

But even though I have known very many smatterers with whom it is quite the custom to condemn arrogantly and ignorantly in others that of which they know nothing, just as if  
25 it were a disgrace for any one to spend his energies upon it: for instance, one fellow rails foolishly at Dialectic, which he never will be able to comprehend; another regards Philosophy as of no value, because, forsooth, Nature, most beautifully

ille Philosophiam nihili facit, quia scilicet formossima De-  
arum Natura nunquam illum tali dignata est honore, ut se  
nudam illi præbuerit intuendam: Ego tamen Festivitates &  
Sales, in quibus quoque perexiguam agnosco facultatem  
5 meam, non gravabor, ut potero, laudare; si prius hoc unum  
addidero, quod sane arduum videtur, & minime proclive,  
me jocos hodie seriò laudaturum. Atque id non immeritò  
quidem, quid enim est quod citius conciliet, diutiusque re-  
tineat amicitias, quam amœnum & festivum ingenium? &  
10 profecto cui desunt sales, & lepores, & politulæ facetiæ, haud  
temere invenietis cui sit gratus & acceptus. Nobis autem,  
Academici, si quotidiani moris esset indormire & quasi im-  
mori Philosophiæ, & inter dumos & spinas Logicæ consene-  
scere citra ullam enim relaxationem, & nunquam concesso  
15 respirandi loco, quid, quæso, aliud esset philosophari, quam  
in *Trophonii* antro vaticinari, & *Catonis* plus nimio rigidi  
Sectam sectari; immo dicerent vel ipsi rusticani, sinapi nos  
victitare. Adde quod, quemadmodum qui luctæ & campestri  
ludo assuescunt se, multo cæteris valentiores redduntur, &  
20 ad omne opus paratiores; ita pariter usu-venit, ut per hanc  
ingenii palæstram corroboretur nervus animi, & quasi melior  
sanguis & succus comparetur, utque ipsa indoles limatior

formed of the goddesses, has never deemed him worthy of such an honor, that she would permit him to gaze upon her naked: nevertheless I shall not consider it a burden to praise, according to my ability, pleasantries and witty sallies, in which  
5 I acknowledge my capabilities are quite limited; if I shall have added first this one thing, which may seem rather difficult and not at all easy: that I am about to speak seriously to-day in praise of jocularly. And this is done not without cause indeed, for what is it that more quickly conciliates and re-  
10 tains friendships longer than a cheerful and agreeable disposition? And truly you will hardly find one is pleasing and welcome who lacks sportive remarks and pleasantries and elegant little witticisms.

Moreover, fellow students, if it were our daily custom to  
15 go to sleep and as it were to die of philosophy and to grow grey among the brambles and thorns of logic without any relaxation whatever, and never with any time granted for breathing; what difference would there be, I ask, between philosophising and playing the soothsayer in the cave of  
20 Trophonius and following the doctrine of the too severely rigid Cato? Nay, even the very peasants would say that we dine on mustard.

Add this: that just as those who accustom themselves to wrestling and to field sports are rendered much more vigor-  
25 ous than others and better trained for every kind of work; so likewise it comes about by use that the sinews of the mind are much strengthened by this exercise of wit, and a better blood and spirit as it were is obtained; so that the native ability itself

fiat acutiorque, & ad omnia sequax & versatilis. Quod si quis urbanus & lepidus haberi nolit, ne sis hoc illi stomacho si paganus & subrusticus appelletur; & probe novimus illiberale quoddam genus hominum, qui cum ipsi prorsus insulsi sint & infestivi, suam tacite secum æstimantes vilitatem & inscitiam, quicquid forte urbanius dictitatum audiunt, id statim in se dici putant; digni sane quibus id vere eveniat, quod injuriâ suspicantur, ut scilicet omnium dicteriis everberentur, pene usquedum suspendium cogitent. Sed non valent istæ hominum quisquiliæ urbanitatis elegantulæ licentiam inhibere. Vultis itaque me Auditores, rationis fundamento fidem exemplorum superstruere? ea utique mihi abunde suppetunt, primus omnium occurrit *Homerus* ille oriens, & *Lucifer* cultioris literaturæ, cum quo omnis eruditio tanquam Gemella nata est; ille enim interdum à Deorum consiliis & rebus in Cælo gestis divinum revocans animum, & ad facetias divertens, murium & ranarum pugnam lepidissime descripsit. Quinetiam *Socrates*, teste *Pythio*, sapientissimus ille mortaliū, jurgiosam uxoris morositatem sæpenumero quam urbane perstrinxisse fertur. Omnia deinde veterum Philosophorum diverbia sale sparsa, & lepore venusto passim legimus referta; & certe hoc unum erat quod antiquos omnes

becomes finer and keener, both pliable and versatile for all things. But if anyone does not wish to be polished and elegant, let him not be irritated if he is called boorish and rustic. And well do we know a certain illiberal type of man, who, since they themselves are quite devoid of taste and elegance, valuing secretly in their own minds their contempt and ignorance, surmise at once that whatever by chance they hear spoken rather wittily is directed against them. Worthy indeed are they that that which they suspect without cause should really happen to them, that by all means they should be trounced by the witticisms of all, until they almost contemplate suicide. But these dregs of human society are not able to prevent a free use of neat little pleasantries.

Accordingly, my hearers, do you wish me to erect upon a foundation of reasons the confirmation of examples? Certainly these present themselves to me in great numbers. First of all Homer appears, that rising sun and morning star of more refined literature, with whom all learning like a twin was born; for he now and then, recalling his divine mind from the counsels of the gods and from things done in heaven and turning aside to drolleries, described most humorously a battle of the mice and frogs. Moreover Socrates, that wisest of mortals, by the testimony of the oracle, is said to have blunted often in witty fashion the nagging peevishness of his wife. Then we read the dialogues of the old philosophers, all sprinkled with wit, and everywhere crammed with charming humor. And certainly it was this alone that has given an eternity of name to all the ancient writers of comedies and



Comœdiarum & Epigrammatum Scriptores, & Græcanicos  
& Latinos, æternitate nominis donavit. Quinimo accepimus,  
*Cicronis* jocos & facetias tres Libros à *Tyrone* conscriptos  
implevisse. Et cuique jam in manibus est ingeniosissimum  
5 illud *Moriæ* encomium non infimi Scriptoris opus, multæque  
aliæ clarissimorum hujus memoriæ Oratorum de rebus ridi-  
culis extant haud infacetæ prolusiones. Vultis summos Im-  
peratores, & Reges, & fortes viros? Accipite *Periclem*, *Epa-*  
*minondam*, *Agesilaum*, & *Philippum Macedonem*, quos (ut  
10 *Gelliano* more loquar) festivitatum & salsè dictorum sca-  
tuisse memorant Historici: Ad hos *Caium Lælium*, *Pub. Cor.*  
*Scipionem*, *Cneum Pompeium*, *C. Julium* & *Octaviam Cæ-*  
*sares*, quos in hoc genere omnibus præstitisse coætaneis author  
est *M. Tullius*, Vultis adhuc majora nomina? ipsum etiam  
15 *Jovem* reliquosque Cœlites inter epulas & pocula jucunditati  
se dantes inducunt Poetæ sagacissimi veritatis adumbratores.  
Vestrâ demum, Academici, utar tutelâ & patrocínio, quod  
mihi erit omnium adinstar; quippe quam non displiceant  
vobis sales & jocoli; indicat satis tantus hodie vestrûm factus  
20 concursus, & hoc sane unumquodque caput mihi annuere  
videtur; nec mirum est mehercle festam hanc & mundulam  
urbânitatem omnes probos, simulque claros viros sic oblec-

epigrams, both Greek and Latin. Further, we hear that the quips and jests of Cicero filled three books, compiled by Tiro. And there is now in the hands of everyone that most clever *Praise of Folly*, a work not by a writer of the lowest rank; and  
5 many other narratives of this kind on laughable topics by most distinguished orators are extant, exercises by no means lacking in humor.

Do you wish me to mention the greatest generals and kings and brave men? Be satisfied with Pericles, Epaminondas,  
10 Agesilaus, and Philip of Macedon, who, if I may speak in the Gellian fashion, the historians say swarmed with whimsicalities and word-play. To these add Caius Laelius, Publius Cornelius Scipio, Cneus Pompeius, Caius Julius, and Octavius Caesar, who, on the authority of Marcus Tullius, excelled  
15 all their contemporaries in wit.

Do you wish in addition greater names? The poets, who are the wisest delineators of truth, represent even Jove himself and the other heavenly beings lending themselves to jocularity in the midst of their banquets and potations.

20 Finally, fellow students, I may refer to your own guardianship and patronage, which will be to me worth them all. Indeed, that witticisms and jocosities are not displeasing to you, this great gathering of yours, taking place to-day, is a sure enough indication; and truly each and every head seems  
25 to nod its assent to me. Nor need it be a source of wonder, by Hercules, that this festive and elegant Humor thus diverts all worthy, and likewise distinguished men; since the very goddess herself may take a seat on high among the splendid ranks

tare, cum & ipsa inter splendidos virtutum *Aristotelicarum* ordines sublimis sedeat, & velut in *Panthæo* quodam Diva cum Divis Sororibus colluceat. Sed forte non desunt quidam Barbati Magistri tetrici oppido & difficiles, qui se magnos  
5 *Catones*, nedum Catunculos putantes, vultu ad severitatem *Stoicam* composito, obstipo nutantes capite anxie querantur omnia nunc dierum commisceri, & in deterius perverti & loco Priorum *Aristotelis* ab initiatis recens baccalaureis exponendorum, scommata & inanes nugas inverecunde & in-  
10 tempestive jactari; hodiernum quoque exercitium à majoribus nostris sine dubio recte & fideliter institutum ob insignem aliquem, sive in Rhetorica, sive in Philosophia fructum inde percipiendum, nunc nuper in insipidos sales perperam immutari. At vero his quod respondeatur ad manum mihi  
15 est, & in procinctu; Sciant enim illi, si nesciant, Literas, cum leges Reipub. nostræ Literariæ primum essent latæ, ab exteris regionibus vix has in oras fuisse advectas: idcirco cum Græcæ & Latinæ Linguæ peritia impendio rara esset & insolens, expediebat eò acriori studio, & magis assiduis exer-  
20 citationibus ad eas eniti & aspirare: nos autem quandoquidem superioribus nostris pejus sumus morati, melius eruditi, oportebit relictis quæ haud multam habent difficultatem ad ea studia accedere, ad quæ & illi contulissent se, si per otium

of Aristotelian perfections, and as though in some Pantheon may be resplendent among sister divinities.

But perhaps there are not wanting some bearded teachers of philosophy, exceedingly gloomy and dour, who, believing  
5 themselves great Catos, not to speak of little Catos, with their countenances set in Stoic severity, shaking their obstinate heads, complain querulously that everything nowadays is mixed up and perversely gone awry; and that, in place of an elucidation of Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* by the recently initiated bachelors, taunting expressions and silly trifles are shame-  
10 lessly and unseasonably bandied about; also that the exercises of this day, rightly and truly established without doubt by our ancestors for the purpose of gathering some remarkable fruit, either in rhetoric or philosophy, have now of late been  
15 wrongly warped into tasteless witticisms.

But in truth I have ready and at hand what may prove a match for them: for let them know, if they are ignorant, that when the literary laws of our nation were first laid down, liberal studies had just been brought from foreign countries  
20 to these shores. Wherefore, since a mastery of the Greek and Latin tongues was quite rare and unusual, it was expedient on that account to struggle after, and to aspire to, these with keener desire and with more assiduous exertions. It will be-  
hoove us, since we are worse mannered, though better edu-  
25 cated than our ancestors, having abandoned those studies which have not much difficulty, to take up those to which they would have applied themselves if they had been at leisure. Nor has it escaped your notice that some early lawmak-

licuisset; nec vos præteriit primos quosque legumlatores duriora paulo scita, & severiora quam ut ferri possint semper edere solere, ut deflectentes & paululum relapsi homines in ipsum rectum incidunt. Denique mutatâ nunc omnino rerum  
5 facie, necesse est multas leges, multasque consuetudines si non antiquari & obsolescere, coangustari saltem nec per omnia servari. Verum si leves istiusmodi nugæ palam defensitæ fuerint & approbatæ, publicamque demeruerint laudem (sic enim arduis superciliis solent dicere) nemo non averso  
10 ab sana & solida eruditione animo eum ad ludicra statim & histrionalem prope levitatem adjunget, adeo ut ipsa Philosophorum spatia pro doctis & cordatis nugatores emissura sint vel nimis & scurris proterviores. At vero ego existimo eum qui jocos insubidis sic solet capi, ut præ iis seria & magis  
15 utilia plane negligat, eum inquam, nec in hac parte, nec in illa posse admodum proficere: non quidem in seriis, quia si fuisset ad res serias tractandas naturâ comparatus, factusque, credo non tam facile pateretur se ab iis abduci; nec in nugatoriis, quia vix queat ullus belle & lepide joculari, nisi & serio  
20 agere prius addiderit. Sed vereor, Academici, ne longius æquo deduxerim Orationis filum; nolo excusare quod potui,

ers were accustomed always to issue decrees a little harsher and a trifle more severe than men were able to obey; so that by swerving from and lapsing a little they would fall into virtue itself. Finally, the conditions of things being now  
5 changed in every respect, it is necessary that laws and many customs, if they have not grown old or fallen into disuse, be at least limited and not observed at all points. But if such light bits of humor have been defended and approved openly and have gained public praise (for so they are wont with  
10 uplifted brows to assert), everyone will turn his mind away from sober and solid learning, and will attach himself forthwith to amusing trifles and almost histrionic frivolity, to such an extent that the very walks of the philosophers would be about to send forth jesters very much more shameless than  
15 clowns, instead of the learned and wise.

But in truth, I think that he who is wont to be so moved by stupid jokes as openly to neglect the serious and more useful things for them; he, I say, would not be able to make much progress in the latter nor in the former sphere: not indeed in  
20 serious matters, because if he were adapted and framed by nature for managing serious affairs, I believe he would not so easily allow himself to be led away from them; nor in trifling matters, because hardly anyone can jest delightfully and charmingly, unless he has also first learned to act seriously.

25 But I fear, fellow students, that I have spun out the thread of my discourse longer than is proper. I shall not present excuses, as I might, lest, by apologizing, the fault should be accentuated. Now, freed from oratorical laws, we will break

ne inter excusandum ingravescat culpa. Jam oratoriis soluti legibus prosiliemus in Comicam licentiam. In qua si forte morem meum, si rigidas verecundiæ leges transversum, quod aiunt, digitum egressus fuero, sciatis Academici, me in vestram gratiam exuisse antiquum meum, & parumper deposuisse: aut si quid solute, si quid luxurianter dictum erit, id quidem non mentem & indolem meam, sed temporis rationem & loci genium mihi suggestisse putetis. Itaque, quod simile solent exeuntes implorare Comœdi, id ego inceptans  
 10 flagito. Plaudite, & ridete.

## Prolusio.

**L**ABORANTI, ut videtur, & pene corruenti stultorum rei summæ, equidem nescio quo merito meo Dictator sum creatus. At quorsum ego? cum Dux ille, & Antesignanus omnium Sophistarum & sedulò ambiverit  
 15 hoc munus, & fortissime potuit administrare; ille enim induratus Miles ad quinquaginta pridem Sophistas sudibus breviculis armatos per agros *Barnwellianos* strenue duxit, & obsessurus opipdum satis militariter aquæductum disjecit, ut per sitim posset oppidanos ad deditionem cogere; at vero  
 20 abiisse nuper hominem valde doleo, siquidem ejus discessu nos omnes Sophistas non solum ἀπεφάλους reliquit, sed & de-

forth into comic license; in which, if by chance I should swerve from my habit, if from the rigid laws of modesty, as they say, a finger's breadth, be it known, fellow students, that I have stripped off and laid aside for a short time my former  
5 custom out of good feeling for you; or, if anything shall be said loosely, if anything licentiously, you may consider that not my mind and disposition, but the procedure of the occasion and the genius of the place has indeed suggested it to me. Accordingly, like that which the comic actors used to beg at  
10 their exit, I at the very beginning entreat: Clap your hands and laugh.

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### EXERCISE

For the tottering, as it seems, and almost collapsing state of fools, I know not indeed by what merit of mine I have been appointed Dictator. But why should I have been, when that  
15 distinguished leader and commander of all the Sophisters has gone around seeking eagerly for this office and would have been able to perform the duties in the very ablest manner? For that hardy soldier led valiantly through Barnwell's meadows not long ago about fifty Sophisters, armed with short little  
20 stakes; and, as if about to invest the town quite in soldierly fashion, overthrew the aqueduct, so that he might compel the town folk to surrender on account of thirst. But in truth, I grieve deeply because the gentleman has lately departed, since by his banishment he has left all of us Sophisters not only  
25 headless but also beheaded.

And now, my hearers, imagine that, although the first of



collatos. Et jam fingite, Auditores, quamvis non sint *Aprilis* Calendæ, festa adesse *Hilaria*, matri Deûm dicata, vel Deo Risui rem divinam fieri. Ridete itaque & petulanti splene sustollite cachinnum, exporrigite frontem, & uncis indulgete  
5 naribus, sed naso adunco ne suspendite; profusissimo risu circumsonent omnia, & solutior cachinnus hilares excutiat lachrymas, ut iis risu exhaustis ne guttulam quidem habeat Dolor quâ triumphum exornet suum. Ego profecto si quem  
10 scabros & cariosos dentes rubigine obductos, aut indecoro ordine prominentes abscondere, aut inter prandendum hodie sic opplevisse abdomen, ut non audeat ilia ulterius distendere ad risum, ne præcinenti ori succinat, & ænigmata quædam nolens effutiat sua non *Sphinx* sed *Sphincter* anus, quæ medi-  
15 cis interpretanda non *Oedipo* relinquo; nolim enim hilari vocis sono obstrepat in hoc cœtu posticus gemitus: Solvant ista Medici qui alvum solvunt. Si quis strenuum & clarum non ediderit murmur cum ego asseverabo tam gravem & mortiferum faucibus exhalare spiritum, ut vel *Ætna*, vel  
20 *Avernus* nihil spiret tetrius; aut certe allium aut porrum comedisse dudum, adeo ut non audeat aperire os, ne vicinos quosque fœtido halitu enecet. At vero absit porro ab hoc

April is not here, the feast of Hilaria, set apart for the mother of the gods, is at hand; or that a divine ceremony is due the God of Laughter. Accordingly, smile and raise loud laughter from your saucy spleen; smooth your brow; yield to wrinkled  
5 nostrils, but do not be hanged on your hooked nose; let all places resound with most immoderate laughter; and let a more unfettered cachinnation evoke joyous tears, so that, when these are exhausted by laughter, grief may not have even a little drop with which to adorn her triumph. I, assuredly, if  
10 I shall behold anyone laughing with his jaw stretched too sparingly, will say that he is carefully concealing teeth that are scurfy and rotten and darkened with smut, or jutting out in unsightly ranks; or that in the course of breakfast to-day he so stuffed his paunch that he dare not swell out his belly with  
15 laughter, lest not his Sphinx, but his sphincter anus, accompany his mouth in its incantations, and against his will babble some riddles, which I pass over to the doctors, not to Oedipus, for interpretation; for I am unwilling that the groan of a posterior by the sound of its cheery voice should make a din in  
20 this assembly. Let the doctors who relax the bowels loosen up these questions. If anyone does not utter a loud and distinct roar, I shall assert that he breathes out such deep and deadly exhalations from his jaws that neither Aetna nor Avernus emits anything more noisome; or that he certainly  
25 has not long since eaten either garlic or leeks; so that as a result he dare not open his mouth lest he kill some of his neighbors with his stinking breath.

But in truth, there is absent from this assembly that ter-

cœtu horrendus & tartareus ille sibili sonus, nam si hîc audiatur hodie, credam ego *Furias* & *Eumenides* inter vos occulte latitare, & angues suos colubrosque pectoribus vestris immississe, & proinde *Athamantæos* Furores vobis inspira-  
5 visse. At enimvero, Academici, vestram ego in me benevolentiam demirror atque exosculor, qui me audituri per flammæ & ignes irrupistis in hunc locum. Hinc enim in ipso limine scintillans ille noster *Cerberus* astat, & fumido latratu horribilis, flammeoque coruscans baculo favillas pleno ore  
10 egerit; illinc ardens & voracissimus Fornax noster luridos eructat ignes, & tortuosos fumi globos evolvit, adeo ut non sit difficilius iter ad inferos vel invito *Plutone*; & certe nec ipse *Jason* minori cum periculo boves illos *Martis* *πυριπνέοντας* aggressus est. Jamque, Auditores, credite vos in cœlum receptos, posteaquam evasistis purgatorium, & nescio quo novo  
15 miraculo ex fornace calida salvi prodiistis, neque sane mihi in mentem venit ullius Herois cujus fortitudinem commode possim vestræ æquiparare, neque enim *Bellerophontes* ille ignivomam *Chimæram* animosius debellavit, nec validissimi  
20 illi Regis *Arthuri* pugiles, igniti & flammigantis Castelli incantamenta vicerunt facilius, & dissiparunt; atque hinc subit, ut puros mihi Auditores & lectissimos pollicear, si quid enim

rible and tartarian sound of hissing; for if it should be heard here to-day, I would believe the Furies and Eumenides had concealed themselves secretly among us and had let loose in your breasts their serpents and vipers; and in like manner  
5 that Athamantean frenzies had inflamed you.

But in very truth, fellow students, I wonder at and admire your goodwill toward me, you who have forced your way through fire and flames into this place in order to hear me. For on the one side of the very threshold that gleaming Cer-  
10 berus of ours stands by. Horrible indeed with his smoky barking, and brilliant with his fiery staff, he emits glowing sparks from his ample mouth. On the other side, blazing and all devouring, our furnace belches forth lurid flames and rolls out tortuous balls of smoke. So that, as a result, the way to  
15 the infernal regions would not be more difficult, even with Pluto unwilling; and certainly not Jason himself attacked with less danger those fire-breathing oxen of Mars.

And now, my auditors, believe that you have been received into heaven, since you have left purgatory behind and have  
20 issued from the fiery furnace, saved by some new miracle. Nor indeed does there come to my mind any hero whose fortitude I can appropriately compare to yours, for that illustrious Bellerophon did not conquer with more spirit the flame-belching Chimaera; nor did those valiant knights of King  
25 Arthur overpower and rout more easily the enchantments of a burning and blazing stronghold. And hence it comes to pass that I may promise myself spotless and most select auditors, for if any impurity has come hither after the testing of

fæcis huc advenerit post explorationem camini, ego statim  
dixero ignes nostros janitores esse fatuos. At fœlices nos &  
incolumes perpetuo futuros! *Romæ* enim ad diuturnitatem  
imperii sempiternos ignes sollicite & religiose servabant, nos  
5 vigilibus & vivis ignibus custodimur: Quid dixi vivis & vigi-  
libus? id sane improvise lapsu prætervolavit, quippe nunc  
melius commemini, eos primo crepusculo extinguere sese, &  
non nisi claro sudo sese resuscitare. Attamen spes est, tan-  
dem iterum domum nostram posse inclarescere, cum nemo  
10 inficias iverit duo maxima Academiæ Luminaria nostro col-  
legio præsidere; quamvis illi nusquam majori forent in ho-  
nore quam *Romæ*, ibi enim vel Virgines Vestales inextinctos  
eos, & insomnes totas noctes servarent, vel forte ordini Sera-  
phico initiarentur flammei fratres. In hos denique optime  
15 quadrat Hemistichion illud *Virgilianum*, Igneus est ollis  
vigor: immo pene inductus sum ut credam *Horatium* horum  
nostrorum ignium mentionem fecisse, major enim horum,  
dum stat inter conjugem & liberos, micat inter omnes velut  
inter ignes Luna minores. Non possum autem præterire fœ-  
20 dum *Ovidii* errorem, qui sic cecinit, Nataque de flamma cor-  
pora nulla vides. Videmus enim passim oberrantes igniculos  
hoc nostro igne genitos, hoc si negaverit *Ovidius*, necessum

the furnace, I should say at once that our janitor's fires have been feeble.

But fortunate are we and safe will we be forever! For at Rome, for the long life of the empire, they fed perpetual  
5 fires carefully and conscientiously; we are protected by ever-burning and by living fires. Why have I called the fires, living and ever-burning? Truly this escaped by an unexpected slip, since just now I call to mind more correctly that these extinguish themselves at the approach of evening and do not come  
10 to life again until broad daylight. There is hope, however, that our abode can be lighted brightly again after all, since nobody will be able to deny that the two greatest light tenders of the institution preside over our college, although they would never be held in higher honor than at Rome; for there,  
15 either the Vestal Virgins would keep them ablazing and awake the whole night through, or perhaps they would be initiated into the seraphic order as flaming brothers. Concerning these, in fine, that Virgilian hemistich is especially applicable: "Fiery is the force in them." Yea, indeed, I have  
20 almost been led to believe that Horace has made mention of these our fire tenders; for the elder of these, when he tarries with his wife and children, shines among all like a moon among lesser lights. But I cannot pass by the shameful blunder of Ovid, who sang in this fashion: "Rising from the flame  
25 no bodies you see." For we see on all sides little fires wandering about, begot by this our fire. If Ovid should dispute this, it will be necessary to call the virtue of the wife into question.

habebit uxoris pudicitiam vocare in dubium. Ad vos redeo, Auditores; Ne vos pœniteat tam molesti & formidolosi itineris, ecce convivium vobis apparatus! eccas mensas ad luxum *Persicum* extructas, & cibus conquisitissimis onustas, qui vel  
5 *Apicianam* gulam oblectent & deliniant! Ferunt enim *Antonio* & *Cleopatraz* octo integros apros in epulis appositos, vobis autem primo ferculo hem quinquaginta saginatos apros cervisiâ conditancâ per triennium maceratos, & tamen adhuc adeo callosos, ut vel caninos dentes delassare valeant. Dein  
10 totidem opimos boves insigniter caudatos famulari nostro igni præ foribus recens assos; sed vereor ne omnem succum in patinam exudaverint. Ab his tot etiam en vitulina capita, sane crassa & carnosa, sed adeo pertenui cerebro, ut non sufficiat ad condimentum. Tum quidem & hædos plus minus  
15 centum, sed puto crebriori *Veneris* usu nimium macros: Arietes aliquot expectavimus speciosis & patulis cornubus, sed eos Coqui nostri nondum secum attulerunt ex oppido. Si quis aves mavult, habemus innumeras, turundis, & offis, & scobinato caseo diu altilis: Inprimis, nescio quod genus  
20 avium tam ingenio, quam plumâ viride, unde eas è regione Psittacorum suspicor asportatas; quæ quia gregatim semper volitant, & eodem fere loco nidulantur, eodem etiam disco apponentur; iis vero parce velim vescamini, quia præterquam quod admodum crudi sint, & nihil in se habeant soli  
25 lidi nutrimenti, scabiem etiam comedentibus protrudunt,

I come back to you, my hearers. Do not be sorry on account of a journey so dangerous and fearful; behold for you a sumptuous banquet! Behold tables heaped even to Persian splendor, burdened with the choicest viands, which would even delight  
5 and sooth an Apician palate! Truly they report that eight whole wild boars were set before Antony and Cleopatra at a banquet; but before you, oho, in the first course fifty fatted boars, soaked for three years in pickled beer, and nevertheless still so tough that they can tire out even the teeth of a dog;  
10 then, besides, the same number of the choicest oxen extraordinarily tailed, just roasted before the doors by our servant fire; but I fear that they have tried out all the juice into the dripping pan. Besides these also, lo, as many calves' heads, quite thick and meaty, but so lacking in brain that there is  
15 not enough for seasoning. Then, in addition, there are a hundred kids more or less; but I believe they are exceedingly lean from too frequent association with Venus. We looked for some rams, with splendid and spreading horns, but our cooks have not yet fetched those with them from the city. If any one  
20 prefers birds, we have them in plenty, fattened a long while with balls of paste, with pellets, and with powdered cheese: first, I know not what kind of birds, as green in nature as in feather, whence I suspect they have been imported from the country of the parrots, which, because they always fly in flocks  
25 and make their nests generally in the same place, are also served from the same platter. But I am of the opinion that you should dine sparingly on these, because, aside from the fact that they are rather indigestible and contain nothing in



(modo vera tradit Comestor). Jam vero libere & genialiter epulamini; hic enim præsto est missus quem vobis præ omnibus commendo, prægrandis scilicet Gallinago, pertriennalem saginam adeo unguinosæ pinguedinis, ut illi vix satis largum  
5 sit unum ferculum amplissimum, rostro eousque prælongo & eduro, ut impune possit cum Elephante aut Rhinocerote certamen ingredi; eam autem in hunc diem commode obtruncavimus, propterea quod prægrandium Simiorum more incepit puellis insidiari, & vim inferre mulieribus. Hunc sub  
10 sequuntur aves quædam *Hybernicæ*, nescio quo nomine; sed incessu & corporis filo gruibus persimiles, quamvis utplurimum soleant in postremam mensam asservari; hic quidem est novus & rarus magis quam salutaris cibus: his itaque abstineatis moneo, sunt enim efficacissimi (modo vera tradit  
15 Comestor) ad generandos pediculos inguinales: has igitur arbitror ego agasonibus utiliores futuras; nam cum sint naturæ vividæ, vegetæ, & saltaturientes, si equis strigosis per podicem ingerantur, reddent eos protinus vivaciores & velociore  
20 res etiam complures aspice, & hujus anni & superiorum argutos valde, & ranis Aristophanicis vocaliores; quos qui-

them of solid nourishment, they also push out the mangle in the diners, provided the gourmand tells the truth.

Now, indeed, you may feast freely and jovially; for here present has been sent what I commend to you before all,  
5 namely, a huge snipe, of such oily fatness on account of three years of beech-mast, that for it one very full mess is hardly large enough; and its beak is so very long and very hard that it can without fear of punishment enter into a contest with an elephant or a rhinoceros. We have, however, rightly slaugh-  
10 tered it on this day, because it had begun, after the custom of the huge apes, to lie in ambush for the girls and to offer violence to the women.

Some Irish birds follow this — I do not know the name —, but they are very like cranes in gait and shape of body. As  
15 much as possible they are wont to be served in the last course. Here indeed is a new and rare, rather than a wholesome, food. Accordingly, I warn you to abstain from these, for they are very effective (provided the gourmand tells the truth) in the generation of inguinal lice. Therefore, I think they will be  
20 more suited to hostlers; for, since they by nature lively, brisk, and dancing about, if they are injected into skinny horses through the fundament, they cause them instantly to become more vivacious and more speedy than if they had ten live eels in their inwards.

25 Also, behold very many geese, both of this year and of former years, exceedingly noisy and more sonorous than the frogs of Aristophanes; whom you will indeed easily recognize, for it is a wonder that they have not already made them-

dem facile dignoscetis; mirum enim est ni se jam prodiderint sibilando, statim fortasse audietis. Ova insuper aliquot habemus, sed ea κακοῦ κόρακος; Frugum vero nihil præterquam mala & mespila, eaque infelicitis arboris, nec satis matura, 5 præstabit itaque iterum ad Solem suspendi. Videtis apparatus nostros, quæso vos, quibus palato sunt, commessamini. Verum hariolor dicturos vos, epulas hasce, veluti nocturnæ illæ dapes quæ à Dæmone veneficis apparantur, nullo condiri sale, vereorque ne discedatis jejuniore quam venistis. Verum 10 ad ea pergo quæ ad me propius attinent. *Romani* sua hâbuere Floralia, *Rustici* sua Palilia, *Pistores* sua Fornacalia, nos quoque potissimum hoc tempore rerum & negotiorum vacui, *Socratico* more ludere solemus. Itaque hospitia Leguleiorum suos habent, quos vocant Dominos, vel hinc indicantes quam 15 sint honoris ambitiosi. Nos autem, *Academici*, ad paternitatem quamproxime accedere cupientes id ficto nomine usurpare gestimus, quod vero non audemus saltem nonnisi in occulto; quemadmodum puellæ nuptias lusorias & puerperia solenniter fingunt, earum rerum quas anhelant & cupiunt, 20 umbras captantes & amplectentes. Quorsum autem eo, qui proxime se circumegit, anno intermissa fuerit hæc solennitas, ego sane haud possum divinare; nisi quod ii qui patres futuri erant, adeo strenue se gesserint in oppido, ut is cui id negotii dabatur, tantorum misertus laborum ultro jusserit

selves known by hissing; straightway perhaps you will hear them.

Some eggs we have in addition; but these from a "bad crow."

- 5 The fruit to be sure is nothing except apples and medlars; and these from an unfortunate tree, not quite ripe; and so they will be the better to hang again in the sun.

You perceive our preparations. I beseech you, you who have an appetite, to fill up full. But I prophesy that you are  
10 about to say that these dishes, like those nocturnal feasts which are prepared by the devil for witches, are not seasoned with salt; and I fear that you may go away more hungry than you came.

But I pass on to those things which more nearly concern  
15 me. The Romans have their festival of flowers, the farmers their shepherds' feast, the bakers their oven fête; we also especially at this time, free from affairs and business, are accustomed to make sport in the Socratic manner. Likewise the Inns of the Pettifoggers have those whom they call Lords,  
20 even thereby indicating how ambitious of office they are. We fellow students, however, wishing to approach as near as possible to paternity, desire to assume under a pseudonym that which we in truth do not even risk, except in secret; just as girls according to their custom imagine playful weddings  
25 and confinements, laying hold of and enjoying the shadows of those things which they pant for and eagerly desire.

For what reason, however, this annual festivity was dropped during the year which last ran its course, I really am unable

eos ab hac cura otiosos esse. At vero unde est quod ego tam subito factus sum Pater? Dii vestram fidem! Quid hoc est prodigii *Pliniana* exuperantis portenta! numnam ego percusso angue *Tyresia* fatum expertus sum? ecqua me *Thes-*  
5 *sala* saga magico perfudit unguento? an denique ego a Deo aliquo vitatus, ut olim *Cæneus*, virilitatem pactus sum stupri pretium, ut sic repente ἐκ θηλείας εἰς ἀρρενα ἀλλὰ χθελὺν ἄν?  
A quibusdam, audivi nuper Domina. At cur videor illis parum masculus? Ecquis *Prisciani* pudor? itane propria quæ  
10 maribus fœmineo generi tribuunt insulsi Grammaticastri! scilicet quia Scyphos capacissimos nunquam valui pancratice haurire; aut quia manus tenendâ stivâ non occaluit, aut quia nunquam ad meridianum Solem supinus jacui septennis bulbus; fortasse demum quod nunquam me virum præstiti,  
15 eo modo quo illi Gancones: verum utinam illi possint tam facile exuere asinos, quam ego quicquid est fœminæ; at videte quam insubide, quam incogitate mihi objecerint id, quod ego jure optimo mihi vertam gloriæ. Namque & ipse

to determine, unless it be that those who were about to become 'Fathers' conducted themselves so turbulently in town that he, to whom this duty was assigned, taking pity on their great exertions, of his own accord decreed that they should be relieved of this anxiety.

But indeed how comes it that I have so suddenly been made a 'Father'? Ye gods, grant me your protection! What prodigy is this, surpassing the strange tales of Pliny! Have I by killing a snake suffered the fate of Tiresias? Has some Thes-  
10 salian witch smeared me with magic ointment? Or finally, violated by some god, like Caeneus of old, have I bargained for manhood as a reward for dishonor, so that suddenly I might be changed from a woman into a man? From some I have lately heard the epithet "Lady." But why do I seem to those  
15 fellows insufficiently masculine? Was it any disgrace to Priscian? Really, the silly grammaticasters attribute to the feminine gender signs which belong to the masculine! Doubtless it was because I was never able to gulp down huge bumpers in pancratic fashion; or because my hand has not become  
20 calloused by holding the plow-handle; or because I never lay down on my back under the sun at mid-day, like a seven-year ox-driver; perhaps in fine, because I never proved myself a man in the same manner as those gluttons. But would that they could as easily lay aside their asshood as I whatever be-  
25 longs to womanhood.

But notice how stupidly, how thoughtlessly they have taunted me about that which I, on the best authority, shall turn to my honor. For truly, even Demosthenes was called by

*Demosthenes* ab æmulis adversariisque parum vir dictus est.

*Q.* itidem *Hortensius* omnium Oratorum post *M. Tullium*, clarissimus, *Dionysia* Psaltria appellatus est à *L. Torquato*.

Cui ille, *Dionysia*, inquit, malo equidem esse, quam quod tu

- 5 *Torquate*, ἀμουσος, ἀγροδιάυτος, ἀπρόσφυτος. Ego vero quicquid hoc Domini aut Dominæ est à me longe amolior atque rejicio, nisi in rostris atque subselliis vestris, Academici, dominari non cupio. Quis jam prohibebit me quin lætar tam auspicato & fœlici omine, exultemque gaudio me tantis viris
- 10 ejusdem opprobrii societate conjunctum! Interea ut bonos omnes & præstantes supra invidiam positos arbitror, ita hos lividos adeo omnium infimos puto, ut ne digni sint qui maledicant. Ad filios itaque pater me converto, quorum cerno speciosum numerum, & video etiam lepidulos nebulones oc-
- 15 culto nutu me patrem fateri. De nominibus quæritis? Nolo sub nominibus ferculorum filios meos epulandos vobis tradere, id enim *Tantali* & *Lycaonis* feritati nimium esset affine; nec membrorum insignibo nominibus, ne putetis me pro integris hominibus tot frustra hominum genuisse; nec ad vi-
- 20 norum genera eos nuncupare volupe est, ne quicquid dixerò, sit ἀπροσδιόνυσον, & nihil ad *Bacchum*; volo ad prædicamentorum numerum nominatos, ut sic & ingenuos natales & liberalem vitæ rationem exprimam; & eadem opera curabo, uti omnes ad aliquem gradum ante meum obitum

his rivals and opponents a little man. Likewise Quintus Hortensius, most renowned of all the orators, after Marcus Tullius, was called by Lucius Torquatus "Dionysia the citharess."

To him he replied: "I would prefer indeed to be Dionysia  
5 than what you are, Torquatus — unrefined, boorish, ill-bred."

But I put far away and repel from me whatsoever pertains to Lord and Lady; I do not desire to be a 'Lord,' fellow students. except on your rostrum and in your tribunal. Who now will stop me from enjoying an omen so auspicious and happy, and  
10 from exulting with joy that I have been united in company with such great men under the same reproach! Meanwhile, as I think that all good and excellent men are placed above envy, so I believe these malicious fellows are so far the lowest down of all that they are not worth reviling.

15 And so I turn me as a 'Father' to my sons, of whom I perceive a brilliant band; and I behold also that the witty little rascals by secret nods do acknowledge me as 'Father.' Do you ask for names? Under the names of dishes I am unwilling to serve up my sons to you to be eaten, for that would be too  
20 closely bordering upon the savageness of Tantalus or Lycaon. I will not designate by the names of members, lest you think that I have begotten so many bits of men instead of complete men. Nor is it my pleasure to designate them by the kinds of wines, lest whatever I shall say be out of place, and no concern  
25 of Bacchus. I prefer that they be named after the band of Praedicaments, that in this way I may express both noble descent and free manner of life; and in the same manner, I shall take care that all have been advanced to some degree before my downfall.



provecti sint. Quod ad Sales meos nolo ego edentulos, sic enim tritos, & veteres dicatis, & aniculam aliquam tussientem eos expuisse: proinde credo neminem sales meos dentatos inculpaturum, nisi qui ipse nullos habet dentes, ideoque  
5 reprehensurum, quia non sunt ipsius similes. Et certe in præsens ego exoptarem obtigisse mihi *Horatii* sortem, nempe ut essem salsamentarii filius, tunc enim sales mihi essent ad unguem, vos etiam sale ita pulchre defricatos dimitterem, ut nostros milites qui nuper ab Insula *Reana* capessere fugam  
10 non magis pœniteret salis petiti. Non libet mihi in consilio vobis exhibendo, mei gnati, gnaviter esse operoso, ne plus operæ vobis erudiendis quam gignendis insumpsisse videar, tantum caveat quisque ne ex filio fiat nepos; liberique mei ne colant liberum, si me velint patrem. Si qua ego alia præ-  
15 cepta dederò, ea linguâ vernaculâ proferenda sentio; conaborque pro viribus ut omnia intelligatis. Cæterum exorandi sunt mihi *Neptunus*, *Apollo*, *Vulcanus*, & omnes Dii Fabri, uti latera mea vel tabulatis corroborare, vel ferreis laminis circumligare velint. Quinetiam & supplicanda mihi est Dea  
20 *Ceres*, ut quæ humerum eburneum *Pelopi* dederit, mihi pariter latera pene absumpta reparare dignetur. Neque enim est cur miretur quislibet, si post tantum clamorem & tot fili-

But in respect to my salty sayings, I am unwilling that they should be toothless, for in so doing you may say that they are hackneyed and ancient, and that some little coughing old woman has spit them out. Accordingly, I believe no one will  
5 find fault with my dentate jokes, except some one who himself has no teeth, and therefore will find fault because they are not like his own. And certainly at the present moment I would prefer very much that the fortune of Horace should befall me; namely, that I might be the son of a salt-fish  
10 monger; for then my 'salties' would be perfect. Likewise, I would send you away so beautifully lashed by salty remarks that our soldiers who lately fled from the Isle of Re would not feel more sorry over the sought-for briny deep.

I do not wish to be excessively tiresome, my children, in  
15 giving advice to you, lest I should seem to have bestowed more labor in educating you than in begetting you; only let each one beware lest from a son he may become a scapegrace; and let not my sons worship (Father) Liber, if they wish me to be their 'Father.' If I should give any other pieces of advice, I  
20 feel these ought to be presented in the vernacular tongue, and I will try, according to my strength, to make you understand everything. Besides Neptune, Apollo, Vulcan, and all the tectonic gods must be entreated by me to be willing either to strengthen my flanks with slats or to bind me around with  
25 iron plates. Moreover, I must also supplicate the goddess Ceres, that, as she gave to Pelops an ivory shoulder, likewise she may deem it worth while to repair my almost ruined ribs; for there is no reason why anyone should wonder, if, after so

orum genituram paulo infirmiora sint. In his itaque sensu  
*Neroniano* ultra quam satis est, moratus sum: nunc Leges  
Academicas veluti *Romuli* muros transiliens à Latinis ad  
Anglicana transcurro. Vos quibus istæc arrident, aures at-  
5 que animos nunc mihi attentos date.

## In Sacrario habita pro Arte.

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### Oratio.

*Beatiores reddit Homines Ars quam Ignorantia.*

**T**AMETSI mihi, Auditores, nihil magis jucundum  
sit atque optabile aspectu vestro, assiduâque togato-  
rum hominum frequentîâ, hoc etiam honorifico di-  
cendi munere, quo ego vice unâ atque alterâ apud vos non  
10 ingrâtâ operâ perfunctus sum; tamen, si quod res est fateri  
liceat, semper ita fit, ut, cum neque meum ingenium, nec  
studiorum ratio ab hoc Oratorio genere multum abhorreat,  
ego vix unquam meâ voluntate, aut sponte ad dicendum ac-  
cedam; mihi si fuisset integrum, vel huic vespertino labori  
15 haud illibenter equidem parsissem: nam quoniam ex Libris  
& Sententiis doctissimorum hominum sic accepi, nihil vul-  
gare, aut mediocre in Oratore, ut nec in Poeta posse concedi,

great a racket and after begetting so many sons, they should be a trifle weaker. In these matters also I have tarried beyond what is enough, in a Neronian sense. Now, leaping over the academic laws, as over the walls of Romulus, I pass from  
5 Latin to English. You to whom such things are pleasing give now to me attentive ears and minds.

## VII.

AN ORATION DELIVERED IN THE CHAPEL IN  
DEFENSE OF KNOWLEDGE*Knowledge renders man happier than ignorance*

**A**LTHOUGH, my hearers, nothing is more delightful and pleasing to me than your presence, and than an attentive throng of gowned gentlemen, also than  
10 this honor-bearing oratorical exhibition, in which at one time and another I have taken part among you, the task being not disagreeable; nevertheless, if it be allowable to mention what is a fact, it always so happens that, although neither my natural bent nor course of studies are very much at variance with  
15 this oratorical activity, I hardly ever undertake speaking of my own free will and accord. If it had been in my power, I would gladly indeed have avoided the exertion of this evening especially, because I have learned from books and from the opinions of the most learned men this, that in the orator as  
20 in the poet nothing commonplace or mediocre can be allowed,

cumque oportere, qui Orator esse meritò & haberi velit, omnium Artium, omnisque Scientiæ circulari quodam subsidio instructum & consummatum esse; id quando mea ætas non fert, malui jam prius ea mihi subsidia comparando, longo &  
5 acri studio ad illam laudem veram contendere, quam properato & præcoci stylo falsam præripere. Quâ animi cogitatione & consilio dum æstuo totus indies, & accendor, nullum unquam sensi gravius impedimentum & moram, hoc frequenti interpellationis damno; nihil vero magis aluisse ingenium, &, contra quam in corpore fit, bonam ei valetudinem conservâsse erudito & liberali otio. Hunc ego divinum  
10 *Hesiodi* somnum, hos nocturnos *Endymionis* cum Luna congressus esse crediderim; hunc illum duce *Mercurio Promethei* secessum in altissimas Montis *Caucasi* solitudines, ubi  
15 sapientissimus Deûm atque hominum evasit, utpote quem ipse *Jupiter* de Nuptiis *Thetidis* consultum isse dicatur. Testor ipse lucos, & flumina, & dilectas villarum ulmos, sub quibus ætate proxime præteritâ (si Dearum arcana eloqui liceat) summam cum Musis gratiam habuisse me jucundâ  
20 memoriâ recolo; ubi & ego inter rura & semotos saltus velut

and that he who wishes deservedly to be and to be considered an orator ought to be equipped and perfected with a certain encompassing support of all the arts and of all science. Since my age does not permit this, I have preferred up to the  
5 present, while providing myself with these supports, to strive earnestly after that true reputation by long and severe toil, rather than to snatch a false reputation by a hurried and premature mode of expression.

While I am wholly afire and ablaze every day with this  
10 plan and purpose of mind, I have never felt any hindrance and delay more pressing than this frequent annoyance of interruption; indeed nothing has more nourished my ability and conserved its good health, contrary to what takes place in the body, than learned and abundant leisure. This I have believed  
15 to be the prophetic sleep of Hesiod, those nocturnal trysts of Endymion with the moon, that retreat of Prometheus under the leadership of Mercury into the deepest solitudes of Mount Caucasus, where he became the wisest of gods and men, inso-  
much that Jupiter himself is said to have asked his advice  
20 about the nuptials of Thetis.

I myself invoke the glades and streams and beloved elms of the farms, under which during the summer just gone by (if it be permitted to mention the secrets of the goddesses) I recall to mind with pleasant memories that I enjoyed the  
25 highest favor of the Muses, where amid fields and remote woodlands I have even seemed to myself to have been able to grow up as it were in seclusion. In this place likewise I might have hoped for myself the same opportunity also of

occulto ævo crescere mihi potuisse visus sum. Hic quoque eandem mihi delitescendi copiam utique sperassem, nisi intempestive prorsus interposuisset se importuna hæc dicendi molestia, quæ sic ingrate arcebat sacros somnos, sic torsit  
5 animum in aliis defixum, & inter præruptas Artium difficultates sic impedivit & oneri fuit, ut ego amissâ omni spe persequendæ quietis mœstus cogitare cœperim, quam procul abessem ab ea tranquillitate quam mihi primò Literæ pollicebantur, acerbam fore inter hos æstus & jactationes vitam,  
10 satius esse vel omnes Artes dedidicisse. Itaque vix compos mei, temerarium cœpi consilium laudandæ Ignorantiæ, quæ nihil prorsus haberet harum turbarum; proposuique in certamen utra suos cultores beatiores redderet Ars an Ignorantia? Nescio quid est, noluit me meum sive fatum, sive genius  
15 ab incepto Musarum amore discedere; imo & ipsa cæca sors tanquam derepente prudens providensque facta hoc idem noluisse visa est; citius opinione meâ Ignorantia suum nacta est patronum, mihi Ars relinquitur defendenda. Gaudeo sane sic illusum me, nec me pudet vel cæcam Fortunam mihi  
20 restituisse oculos; hoc illi nomine gratias habeo. Jam saltem illam laudare licet, cujus ab amplexu divulsus eram, & quasi absentis desiderium sermone consolari; jam hæc non plane interruptio est, quis enim interpellari se dicat, id laudando & tuendo quod amat, quod approbat, quod magnopere as-

- hiding, had not this inconvenient annoyance of speaking interposed itself quite unseasonably, which so hindered in a disagreeable way my sacred slumbers, so distracted a mind fixed on other things, and so impeded and burdened amid the  
5 rugged difficulties of the Arts, that having lost all hope of obtaining quiet, I began to think sorrowfully how far I was removed from that tranquillity which Letters at first promised me, that life would be painful among these surgings and tossings, that it would be better to forget the Arts completely.
- 10 Accordingly, hardly master of myself, I undertook the rash design of praising Ignorance, which would certainly involve none of these commotions, and I advanced the proposition for debate: Which of the two, Knowledge or Ignorance, would render its devotees the happier?
- 15 I do not know what happened: either my Fate or my Genius did not wish me to depart from my early love of the Muses. Nay, even Blind Chance herself, become suddenly as it were prudent and foresighted, seemed likewise not to wish this. More speedily than I had supposed, Ignorance has found her  
20 champion; to me is left the defence of Knowledge. I truly rejoice that I was thus mocked, nor do I feel ashamed that Fortune, though blind, has restored my sight. For this boon I give thanks to her. Now at least I may praise the illustrious one from whose embrace I had been torn away, and by a  
25 speech I may almost console the grief of absence. Now this is clearly not an interruption; for who may call it an interruption when he praises and defends what he loves, what he cherishes, what he wishes with all his heart to pursue?



sequi velit. Verum, Auditores, sic ego existimo in re medio-  
criter laudabili maxime elucere vim Eloquentiæ; quæ sum-  
mam laudem habent, vix ullo modo, ullis limitibus Oratio-  
nis contineri posse, in his ipsa sibi officit copia, & rerum  
5 multitudine comprimit & coangustat expandentem se elocu-  
tionis pompam; hâc ego argumenti fœcunditate nimiâ la-  
bore, ipsæ me vires imbecillum, arma inermem reddunt; de-  
lectus itaque faciendus, aut certe enumeranda verius quam  
tractanda quæ tot nostram causam validis præsidiis firmam  
10 ac munitam statuunt: nunc illud mihi unice elaborandum  
video, ut ostendam quid in utraque re, & quantum habeat  
momentum ad illam in quam omnes ferimur, beatitudinem;  
in qua contentione facili certe negotio versabitur Oratio nos-  
tra, nec admodum esse puto metuendum quid possit Scien-  
15 tiæ Inscitia, Arti Ignorantia objicere; quamvis hoc ipsum  
quod objiciat, quod verba faciat, quod in hac celebritate Li-  
teratissimæ Concionis vel hiscere audeat, id totum ab arte  
precariò vel potius emendicatò habet. Notum hoc esse reor,  
Auditores, & receptum omnibus, magnum mundi opificem,  
20 cætera omnia cum fluxa & caduca posuisset, homini præter

In truth, my auditors, I think the power of eloquence is especially evinced in a matter which is praiseworthy to a moderate degree. Things which call for the highest laudation can scarcely be confined by any method, by any limits of language. In these the very abundance thwarts itself, and by the mass of material checks and restrains the ostentation of delivery from expanding itself. I am oppressed by this excessive abundance of evidence; the supplies themselves make me helpless; the means of defence render me defenceless. Accordingly, a selection must be made, or certainly it would be more truly an enumeration of the things which establish our case than a discussion, fixed and fortified by many strong proofs.

At this moment I perceive that one point ought especially to be emphasized by me: that I demonstrate what and how much weight on each side may contribute to that state of happiness toward which we all are hasting. Into this line of argument surely our speech will be turned with little trouble. Nor do I think there is very much need to fear what Stupidity may present against Knowledge, or Ignorance may present against Art, although this very thing which may present objections, which may cause discussion, which may even dare to open its mouth at this function of a most learned society, obtains everything from Knowledge by entreaty, or rather by begging.

I believe, my hearers, it is known and recognized by all, that the great Framers of the universe, although He had founded all other things on change and decay, had intermingled in

id quod mortale esset, divinam quandam auram, & quasi partem sui immiscuisse, immortalem, indelebilem, lethi & interitus immunem; quæ postquam in terris aliquandiu tanquam cœlestis hospes, caste, sancteque peregrinata esset, ad  
5 nativum cœlum sursum evibraret se, debitamque ad sedem & patriam reverteretur: proinde nihil merito recenseri posse in causis nostræ beatitudinis, nisi id & illam sempiternam, & hanc civilem vitam aliquâ ratione respiciat. Ea propemodum suffragiis omnium sola est contemplatio, quâ sine administro  
10 corpore seducta & quasi conglobata in se mens nostra incredibili voluptate immortalium Deorum ævum imitatur, quæ tamen sine arte tota infrugifera est & injucunda, imo nulla. Quis enim rerum humanarum divinarumque *ιδέεα* intueri digne possit aut considerare, quarum ferme nihil  
15 nôsse queat, nisi animum, per artem & disciplinam imbutum & excultum habuerit; ita prorsus ei cui Artes desunt, interclusus esse videtur omnis aditus ad vitam beatam: ipsam hanc animam altæ sapientiæ capacem & prope inexplebilem, aut frustra nobis Deus, aut in pœnam dedisse videtur, nisi  
20 maxime voluisset nos ad excelsam earum rerum cognitionem sublimes eniti, quarum tantum ardorem naturâ humanæ menti injecerat. Circumspicite quaquā potestis universam hanc rerum faciem, illam sibi in gloriam tanti operis summus Artifex ædificavit; quanto altius ejus rationem in-

- man, beyond what is mortal, a certain divine breath and as it were a part of Himself, immortal, imperishable, immune from death and destruction: which, after it had sojourned spotlessly and chastely on earth for a while, a guest as it were
- 5 from heaven, should wing itself upward to its native sky and should return to its destined mansion and native land. Whence it follows that nothing can be recounted justly among the causes of our happiness, unless in some way it takes into consideration both that eternal life and this temporal life.
- 10 This is the sole contemplation, according to the judgment of almost everybody, by which our mind, without the aid of the body, remote and as it were wrapped up in itself, copies the eternal life of the immortal gods with an extraordinary delight.
- 15 This, however, without knowledge is altogether sterile and joyless, yea, indeed, worthless. For who can contemplate and examine seriously the ideal forms of things, human and divine, of which nothing can surely be known, unless he has a mind saturated and perfected by knowledge and training?
- 20 So, in short, for one who lacks knowledge every approach to a happy life is seen to be cut off. This very soul, capable of deep wisdom and almost insatiable, God is seen to have given to us either in vain or in punishment, unless He had greatly wished us to climb the heights to a lofty knowledge of those
- 25 things concerning which he had infused so great a desire in the nature of the human mind. In whatever way you are able, ponder over this entire scheme of things: the illustrious Artificer of the great work has built it for His own glory. The

signem, ingentem fabricam, varietatem admirabilem investigamus, quod sine arte non possumus, tanto plus authorem ejus admiratione nostrâ celebramus, & veluti quodam plausu persequimur, quod illi pergratum esse, certum ac persuasissimum habeamus. Ecquid, Auditores, putabimus tanta immensi ætheris spatia æternis accensa atque distincta ignibus, tot sustinere concitatissimos motus, tanta obire conversionum itinera ob hoc unum ut lucernam præbeant ignavis & pronis hominibus? & quasi facem præferant nobis infra torpentibus  
10 & desidiosis? nihil inesse tam multiplici fructuum herbarumque proventui, præterquam fragilem viriditatis ornatum? Profecto si tam injusti rerum æstimatores erimus, ut nihil ultra crassum sensus intuitum persequamur, non modo serviliter & abjecte, sed inique & malitiose cum benigno numine egisse videbimur; cui per inertiam nostram, & quasi  
15 per invidiam titulorum magna pars, & tantæ potentiæ veneratio penitus intercidet. Si igitur dux & inchoatrix nobis ad beatitudinem sit eruditio, si potentissimo numini jussa & complacita, & ejus cum laude maxime conjuncta, certe non  
20 potest sui cultores non efficere vel summe beatos. Neque enim nescius sum, Auditores, contemplationem hanc quâ tendimus ad id quod summe expetendum est, nullum habere

deeper we investigate its extraordinary plan, its remarkable structure, its wonderful variety, which, without knowledge, we cannot do, the more do we honor the Author of this with our reverence and, as it were with a certain approbation, do  
5 we strive to follow what we believe is very pleasing, true, and altogether acceptable to Him.

Will you believe, my auditors, that the great spaces of the enormous firmament, illuminated and adorned by the everlasting fires, sustain so many tremendously rapid motions,  
10 travel over such great paths of revolution, for this one reason: that they may furnish light for ignorant and stooping men? and present as it were a torch to us below, stupid and slothful? that nothing inheres in such a manifold increase of fruits and herbage, except a perishable adornment of verdure?  
15 Really, if we should be such unfair valuers of things that we follow nothing but the low inclination of the senses, we shall seem to be driven, not only slavishly and humbly, but also wickedly and maliciously, by the benign power; to whom, through our sluggishness and as it were through our ill will,  
20 a great part of the honors and the reverence due so great a power will entirely perish. If therefore knowledge be for us the guide and introducer to happiness, if commanded and approved by a most powerful divinity and combined especially with his praise, certainly it is not possible for its devotees  
25 not to attain unto a high degree of happiness.

For I am not unaware, my hearers, that this contemplation, by which we strive toward that which ought to be highly desired, can have no flavor of true happiness without upright-

posse veræ beatitudinis gustum sine integritate vitæ, & morum innocentia; multos autem vel insigniter eruditos homines nefarios extitisse, præterea iræ, odio, & pravis cupiditatibus obedientes; multos e contra literarum rudes viros probos  
5 atque optimos se præstitisse; quid ergo? Num beatior Ignorantia? minime vero. Sic itaque est, Auditores, paucos fortasse doctrinâ præstabiles suæ civitatis corruptissimi mores & illiteratorum hominum colluvies in nequitiam pertraxere, unius perdocti & prudentis viri industria multos mortales ab  
10 arte impolitos in officio continuit: nimirum una domus, vir unus arte & sapientia præditus, velut magnum Dei munus toti Reipub. satis esse possit ad bonam frugem. Cæterum ubi nullæ vigent Artes, ubi omnis exterminatur eruditio, ne ullum quidem ibi viri boni vestigium est, grassatur immanitas  
15 atque horrida barbaries; hujus rei testem appello non civitatem unam, aut provinciam, non gentem, sed quartam orbis terrarum partem *Europam*, quâ totâ superioribus aliquot sæculis omnes bonæ Artes interierant, omnes tunc temporis Academias præsides diu Musæ reliquerant; pervaserat omnia,  
20 & occupârat cæca inertia, nihil audiebatur in Scholis præter insulsa stupidissimorum Monachorum dogmata, togam scilicet nacta, per vacua rostra & pulpita per squalentes Cathedras jactitavit se prophanum & informe monstrum, Ignorantia. Tum primum lugere Pietas, extingui Religio &

ness of life and blamelessness of character; moreover, that remarkably learned men have appeared impious, besides yielding to anger, hatred and low desires; that on the other hand many men unacquainted with Letters have proved  
5 themselves upright and most honest. What therefore? Is Ignorance more blessed? Truly, not in the least! So indeed it happens, my hearers, that the most corrupt customs and a rabble of illiterate men have lured into wickedness a few men preeminent perchance throughout their state; while the dili-  
10 gence of one scholarly and foresighted man has kept to their duty many human beings unrefined by knowledge. Undoubtedly, one family, one man endowed with knowledge and wisdom, like a great gift of God, may be sufficient to reform a whole state.

15 On the other hand, where no arts flourish, where all knowledge is banished, where indeed there is no trace of a good man, there savageness and frightful barbarism rage about. Of this fact I call to witness not one state or province or race, but a fourth part of the world, Europe, from the  
20 whole of which during several early centuries all good arts had perished; for a long time the presiding Muses had abandoned all the universities of that age: blind Ignorance had pervaded and taken possession of everything; nothing was heard in the schools except the absurd dogmas of most stupid  
25 monks. Forsooth, having donned a gown, from empty platforms and pulpits, from musty cathedras, the profane and misshapen monster, Ignorance, vaunted itself. Then Piety for the first time went into mourning, and Religion expired and went



peccatum ire; adeo ut ex gravi vulnere, sero atque ægre vix in hunc usque diem convaluerit. At vero, Auditores, hoc in Philosophia ratum, & antiquum esse satis constat, omnis artis, omnisque scientiæ perceptionem solius intellectus esse, 5 virtutum ac probitatis domum atque delubrum esse voluntatem. Cum autem omnium iudicio intellectus humanus cæteris animi facultatibus princeps & moderator præluceat, tum & ipsam voluntatem cæcam alioqui & obscuram suo splendore temperat & collustrat, illa veluti Luna, luce lucet alienâ. Quare demus hoc sane, & largiamur ultro, potio- 10 rem esse ad beatam vitam virtutem sine arte, quam artem sine virtute; at ubi semel fœlici nexu invicem consociatæ fuerint, ut maxime debent, & sæpissime contingit, tum vero statim vultu erecto atque arduo superior longe apparet, atque emi- 15 cat scientia, cum rege & imperatore intellectu in excelso locat se, inde quasi humile & sub pedibus spectat inferius quicquid agitur apud voluntatem; & deinceps in æternum excellentiam & claritudinem, maiestatemque divinæ proximam facile sibi asserit. Age descendamus ad civilem vitam, quid in 20 privata, quid in publica proficiat utraque videamus; taceo de arte quod sit pulcherrimum juventutis honestamentum, ætatis virilis firmum præsidium, senectutis ornamentum atque solatium. Prætereo & illud multos apud suos nobiles, etiam

to ruin; so that from its deep wound, late and with difficulty, it has hardly recovered even to this day.

But truly, my hearers, in philosophy this appears to be sufficiently established and of long standing, that the perception  
5 of all art and of all science concerns only the intellect, but the home and the temple of the virtues and of uprightness is the will. Since, however, in the judgment of all, the human intellect, as head and ruler, surpasses in splendor the other faculties of the mind, it governs and illuminates with its splendor  
10 the will itself, otherwise blind and dark, that like the moon shines with another's light. Wherefore let us grant this truly and acknowledge of our own accord, that virtue without knowledge is more conducive to a happy life than knowledge without virtue; but where they have once been mutually asso-  
15 ciated in a happy union, as generally they ought and as very frequently happens, then indeed immediately, with bearing erect and lofty, Knowledge appears and shines forth far superior; it enthrones itself on high with the intellect as king and emperor, whence it views farther down, as it were lowly  
20 and underfoot, whatever is done by the will; and finally it easily takes to itself forever preeminence, renown, and majesty almost divine.

Come, let us proceed to the state. Let us observe both what takes place in private and what in public life. With respect to  
25 knowledge I pass over that it is the most beautiful ornament of youth, the strong defence of the period of manhood, the adornment and comfort of old age. I omit this also, that many among their nobility, even the leaders of the Roman people,

*P. R.* principes post egregia facinora, & rerum gestarum gloriam ex contentione & strepitu ambitionis ad literarum studium tanquam in portum ac dulce perfugium se recepis-  
intellexére nimirum senes præstantissimi jam reliquam vitæ  
5 partem optimam optime oportere collocari; erant summi inter homines, volebant his artibus non postremi esse inter Deos; petierant honores, nunc immortalitatem; in debellandis imperii hostibus longe aliâ militiâ usi sunt, cum morte maximo generis humani malo conflictaturi, ecce quæ tela  
10 sumpserint, quas legiones conscripserint, quo comæatu instructi fuerint. Atqui maxima pars civilis beatitudinis in humana societate & contrahendis amicitiiis fere constituta est; doctiores plerosque difficiles, inurbanos, moribus incompositis, nullâ fandi gratiâ ad conciliandos hominum animos  
15 multi queruntur: fateor equidem, qui in studiis fere seclusus atque abditus est, multo promptius esse Deos alloqui quam homines, sive quod perpetuo fere domi est apud superos infrequens rerum humanarum & vere peregrinus, sive quod assiduâ rerum divinarum cogitatione mens quasi grandior  
20 facta in tantis corporis angustiis difficulter agitans se minus habilis sit ad exquisitiores salutationum gesticulationes; at si dignæ atque idoneæ contigerint amicitia nemo sanctius colit; quid enim jucundius, quid cogitari potest beatius illis

after extraordinary deeds and the glory of things accomplished, betook themselves out of the strife and din of ambition to literary study as though into a harbor and charming place of rest; that is to say, the most distinguished old men  
5 then perceived that the remaining best part of life ought to be invested in the best manner. Highest they were among men, yet in these arts they did not wish to be lowest among the gods. Honors they had sought, next immortality. In battling with the foes of the empire they employed a far different warfare;  
10 about to contend with death, the greatest plague of the human race, behold what weapons they select, what legions they enroll, with what supplies they have been equipped.

But the greatest part of social happiness has usually been lodged in human fellowship and in the friendships contracted.  
15 Many complain that the majority of the more learned class are hard to please, boorish, uncouth in manners, with no grace of speech for winning the minds of men. I acknowledge indeed that one who is commonly reclusive and withdrawn in studies is much more ready to address the gods than men; either be-  
20 cause he is almost uninterruptedly at home among the higher powers, with little knowledge of, and quite inexperienced in, human affairs; or because, by the continuous contemplation of divine things, the mind, made as it were larger, tossing itself about with difficulty within the narrow confines of the  
25 body, becomes less adapted to the more exquisite gesticulations of greetings. But if worthy and suitable friendships have befallen, no one cultivates them more sacredly; for what can be imagined more delightful, what more happy than those

doctorum & gravissimorum hominum colloquiis, qualia sub illa platano plurima sæpe fertur habuisse divinus *Plato*, digna certe quæ totius confluentis generis humani arrecto excipi-  
antur silentio; at stolide confabulari, alios aliis ad luxum &  
5 libidines morem gerere ea demum ignorantia est amicitia, aut certe amicitia ignorantia. Quinetiam si hæc civilis beatitudo in honesta liberaque oblectatione animi consistit, ea profecto doctrina & arti reposita est voluptas, quæ cæteras omnes facile superet; quid omnem cœli syderumque morem  
10 tenuisse? omnes aeris motus & vicissitudines, sive augusto fulminum sonitu, aut crinitis ardoribus inertes animos perterrefaciat, sive in nivem & grandinem obrigescat, sive denique in pluvia & rore mollis & placidus descendat; tum alternantes ventos perdidicisse, omnesque halitus aut vapores  
15 quos terra aut mare eructat; stirpium deinde vires occultas, metallorumque caluisse, singulorum etiam animantium naturam, & si fieri potest, sensus intellexisse; hinc accuratissimam corporis humani fabricam & medicinam; postremo divinam animi vim & vigorem, & si qua de illis qui Lares,  
20 & Genii, & Dæmonia vocantur ad nos pervenit cognitio? Infinita adhæc alia, quorum bonam partem didicisse licuerit, antequam ego cuncta enumeraverim. Sic tandem, Auditores, cum omnimoda semel eruditio suos orbes confecerit,

conferences of learned and most eminent men, such as divine Plato is said to have held very frequently under that famous plane tree, which were certainly worthy of being heard with attentive silence by the whole of the confluent human race?

- 5 Whereas to babble with one another stupidly, to gratify one another with splendor and licentiousness, this is indeed the friendship of ignorance, or really the ignorance of friendship.

Moreover, if this social happiness consists in the noble and free pleasure of the mind; if this delight, which easily excels  
10 all others, has been reserved for learning and knowledge; what does it avail to have comprehended every law of the heavens and of the stars? — all the motions and shiftings of the air, whether it brings terror to sluggish minds by the august sound of thunders or by fiery locks, whether it be-  
15 comes frozen in snow and hail, whether finally it falls soft and gentle in rain and dew; then to have learned perfectly the changing winds, all the vapors and gases which the earth and sea belch forth; next to become versed in the secret powers of plants and metals; also to have understood the nature and, if  
20 possible, the feelings of each living creature; thence the most exact structure and surgery of the human body; and finally the godlike power and force of mind; and whether any knowledge comes to us about those beings which are called Lares, Genii, and Demons? In addition to these there are  
25 infinite others, of which one might become acquainted with a goodly part before I could enumerate all.

So at length, my hearers, when once learning of all kinds shall have completed its cycles, that spirit of yours, not satis-

non contentus iste spiritus tenebricoso hoc ergastulo eousque late aget se, donec & ipsum mundum, & ultra longe divinâ quadam magnitudine expatiatâ compleverit. Tum demum plerique casus atque eventus rerum ita subito emergent, ut  
5 ei, qui hanc arcem sapientiæ adeptus est, nihil pene incautum, nihil fortuitum in vita possit accidere; videbitur sane is esse, cujus imperio & dominationi astra obtemperant, terra & mare obsecundant, venti tempestatesque morigeræ sint; cui denique ipsa Parens Natura in deditionem se tradiderit,  
10 plane ac si quis Deus abdicatione mundi imperio, huic jus ejus, & leges, administrationemque tanquam præfectori cuidam commisisset. Huc quanta accedit animi voluptas, per omnes gentium historias & loca pervolare Regnorum, Nationum, Urbium, Populorum status mutationesque ad prudentiam,  
15 & mores animadvertere: hoc est, Auditores, omni ætati quasi vivus interesse, & velut ipsius temporis nasci contemporanea; profecto cum nominis nostri gloriæ in futurum prospeximus, hoc erit ab utero vitam retro extendere & porrigere, & nolenti fato anteactam quandam immortalitatem extor-  
20 quere. Mitto illud cui quid potest æquiparari? Multarum Gentium oraculum esse, domum quasi templum habere, esse quos Reges & Respublicæ ad se invitent, cujus visendi gratiâ finitimique exterique concurrant, quem alii vel semel vidisse quasi quoddam bene meritum gloriantur; hæc studiorum

fied with this gloomy house of correction, will betake itself far and wide, until it shall have filled the world itself and far beyond with a certain divine extension of magnitude. Then at length many accidents and consequences of things will become  
5 clear so suddenly that nothing in life can happen quite unexpectedly, nothing by chance to one who has gained possession of this stronghold of wisdom. He will seem to be one whose power and authority the stars will obey, the land and the sea will follow implicitly, the winds and the storms will strive to  
10 please; one to whom Mother Nature even will hand over herself in surrender, quite as if some god, having abdicated power on earth, had delegated to him his court, his laws, his executive power, as though to some prefect. How great a pleasure is added hereto by flying through all the histories  
15 and problems of the races, by directing the attention, for the sake of practical judgment and morals, to the conditions and vicissitudes of kingdoms, nations, cities, peoples! This means, my hearers, to reside in every age as if alive, to be born as though a contemporary of time itself. Surely, when we have  
20 peered into the future for the glory of our name, this will be to extend and stretch life backward from the womb and wrest away from fate a kind of immortality in time past.

Do I pass by that to which what can be compared? To be the oracle of many races; to have a house like a temple; to be  
25 those whom kings and states summon to themselves; to be one, for the sake of seeing whom, neighbors and strangers flock together; one whom, even to have seen once, some shall brag about as though it possessed some honorable merit.



præmia, hos fructus eruditio suis cultoribus in privata vita præstare, & potest, & sæpe solet. At quid in publica? Sane ad Majestatis fastigium paucos evexit laus doctrinæ, nec prohibitatis multò plures. Nimirum, illi apud se regno fruuntur,  
5 omni terrarum ditione longe gloriosiori: & quis sine ambitionis, infamiâ geminum affectat regnum? addam hoc tamen amplius, duos tantum adhuc fuisse qui quasi cœlitus datum universum terrarum orbem habuere, & supra omnes Reges & Dynastas æquale Diis ipsis partiti sunt imperium.  
10 *Alexandrum* nempe magnum & *Octavium Cæsarem*, cosque ambos Philosophiæ alumnos. Perinde ac si quoddam electionis exemplar divinitus exhibitum esset hominibus, quali potissimum viro clavum & habenas rerum credi oporteret. At multæ resp. sine literis, rebus gestis & opulentiâ claruere.  
15 *Spartanorum* quidem, qui ad literarum studium contulerint se, pauci memorantur; *Romani* intra urbis mœnia Philosophiam sero receperunt; at illi Legislatore usi sunt *Lycurgo*, qui & philosophus fuit & Poetarum adeo studiosus, ut *Homeri* scripta per *Ioniam* sparsa summâ curâ primus collegit.  
20 rit. Hi post varios in urbe motus & perturbationes ægre se

These rewards of study, these fruits, Knowledge is able, and frequently is wont, to confer upon her devotees in private life.

But what in public life? Truly to the height of majesty the reputation for learning has elevated few, nor for uprightness many more. Indisputably, these enjoy a kingdom in themselves far more glorious than all dominion over lands. And who lays hold of a double sovereignty without the disrepute of ambition? I will add this further, however, that there have  
10 been two men only up to this time who possessed the whole earth as by a gift of the gods, and have shared beyond all kings and princes a dominion equal to the gods themselves: namely, Alexander the Great and Octavius Caesar. And these both were disciples of Philosophy, just as if some pattern for emu-  
15 lation had been divinely produced for mankind, to which sort of man particularly the helm and reins of affairs ought to be entrusted.

But many states have been renowned without learning, through deeds accomplished and through wealth. Of the  
20 Spartans indeed who betook themselves to the study of letters few are remembered. The Romans at a late date received Philosophy within the walls of the city. But the former profited by Lycurgus, the legislator, who was both a philosopher and fond of the poets, so much so that he first collected with  
25 the greatest care the writings of Homer which were scattered throughout Ionia. The latter, after various revolutions in the city and vigorous uprisings, maintained themselves with difficulty. Having sent ambassadors, they obtained by begging

sustentare valentes, ab *Athenis* eâ tempestate artium studio  
floquentissimis, Leges Decemvirales, quæ & duodecim tabulæ  
dictæ sunt, missis legatis emendicarunt. Quid si hodiernos  
5 *Turcas* per opima *Asiae* regna rerum late potitos omnis litera-  
turæ ignaros nobis objiciant? Equidem in ea repub. (si tamen  
crudelissimorum hominum per vim & cædem arreptâ poten-  
tiâ, quos unum in locum sceleris consensus convocavit, con-  
tinuo respub. dicenda sit) quod in ea ad exemplum insigne  
sit nil audivi, parare vitæ commoda, tueri parta, id Naturæ  
10 debemus, non Arti; aliena libidinose invadere, sibi mutuo  
ad rapinam auxilio esse, in scelus conjurare, id Naturæ pra-  
vitati. Jus quoddam apud eos exercetur; nec mirum: cæteræ  
virtutes facile fugantur, justitia vere regia, ad sui cultum  
impellit, sine qua vel injustissimæ societates cito dissolveren-  
15 tur. Nec omiserim tamen, *Saracenos Turcarum* propemo-  
dum conditores non *armis magis quam bonarum literarum*  
studiis imperium suum propagasse. Sed si antiquitatem re-  
petamus, inveniemus non institutas modo ab Arte, sed fun-  
dadas olim fuisse respublicas. Antiquissimi quique gentium  
20 indigenæ in sylvis & montibus errasse dicuntur, ferarum ritu

from Athens, at that time in highest repute for the study of the arts, the Decemviral Laws, which have also been called the Twelve Tables.

What can we say if our opponents put before us the argument that the modern Turks, ignorant of all literature, have obtained the mastery of affairs widely throughout the opulent kingdoms of Asia? Truly, in that state (if indeed that ought to be called a state in which the power has been continuously usurped by force and murder on the part of most cruel men whom a union of wickedness has brought together in one place) I have heard of nothing that may be within it noteworthy as a model. To provide the comforts of life, to guard possessions—that we owe to Nature, not to Art; to attack the property of others wantonly, to exist for themselves in mutual alliance for robbery, to conspire in villainy—this we owe to the depravity of Nature. A kind of justice is exercised among them; not to be wondered at. Other virtues easily take their flight; Justice, truly royal, compels reverence to herself; without her even the most unjust organizations would quickly be dissolved. Nor, to be sure, should I forget that the Saracens, in a sense the founders of the Turkish power, extended their dominion not more by devotion to arms than to good literature.

But if we go back to antiquity, we shall discover that the states were not only regulated by, but oftentimes were established on, knowledge. Some of the most ancient of the peoples, the indigenous, are said to have wandered in woods and mountains, seeking the advantage of food after the manner

pabuli commoditatem sequuti, vultu erecti, cætera proni, putâsses præter formæ dignitatem nihil non commune cum bestiis habuisse; eadem antra, iidem specus cælum & frigora defendebant; nulla tunc urbs, non ædes marmoreæ, non aræ  
5 Deorum, aut fana collucebant, non illic fas sanctum, nondum jura in foro dicebantur, nulla in nuptiis tæda, non chorus, nullum in mensa geniali carmen, nullum solenne funeris, non luctus, vix tumulus defunctos honestabat; nulla convivium, nulli ludi, inauditus citharæ sonus, ipsa tunc omnia  
10 aberant, quibus jam inertia ad luxum abutitur. Cum repente Artes & Scientiæ, agrestia hominum pectora cœlitus afflabant, & imbutos notitiâ sui in una mœnia pellexere. Quamobrem certe quibus authoribus urbes ipsæ primum conditæ sunt, dein stabilitæ legibus, post consiliis munitæ, poterunt  
15 iisdem etiam gubernatoribus quam diutissime fœlicissimeque consistere. Quid autem ignorantia? sentio, Auditores, caligat, stupet, procul est, effugia circumspicit, vitam brevem queritur, artem longam; immo vero tollamus duo magna studiorum nostrorum impedimenta, alterum artis male traditæ, alterum nostræ ignaviæ, pace *Galenî*, seu quis alius ille  
20 fuit; totum contra erit, vita longa, ars brevis; nihil arte præ-

of wild beasts. With heads held high, in other respects bent over, you would have thought, aside from excellence of form, that they had nothing apart from brutes. The same caves, the same dens protected them from the weather and cold. Then  
5 no city, no temples of marble, no altars of the gods, or sanctuaries were resplendent. Not in those days was there a sacred law, not yet were the laws of men decreed in the forum. No nuptial torch, no chorus, no song at the joyous table, no burial rite, no lamentation, hardly a mound honored the dead. No  
10 banquets, no games, unheard the sound of the cithara; in those times all things were lacking which idleness now squanders in luxury. When suddenly the Arts and Sciences divinely inspired the rude hearts of men and allured within one wall those who were imbued with knowledge of them. Where-  
15 fore, indeed, according to some authors, the cities themselves were first founded, then established by laws. Afterward, protected by counsellors, they were able to stand firmly a very long time and very happily even under the same rulers.

What, on the other hand, has Ignorance to say? I feel, my  
20 hearers, she is veiled in darkness, is benumbed, is afar off, looks around for means of escape, complains that life is short, art is long. By all means in truth let us remove the two great stumbling blocks to our studies: the one of knowledge poorly taught, the other of our own slothfulness. With the permis-  
25 sion of Galen, or whoever else it was, quite the contrary will it be: life will be long, art short. Nothing is more excellent than art, and nothing also requiring more labor: nothing more sluggish than we, nothing more negligent. We permit

stabilius, adeoque laboriosius, nihil nobis segnius, nihil remissius; ab operariis & agricolis nocturnâ & antelucanâ industriâ vinci nos patimur; illi in re sordida ad vilem victum magis impigri sunt, quam nos in nobilissima ad vitam beatam; nos cum ad altissimum atque optimum in humanis rebus aspiremus, nec studium ferre possumus, nec inertiae dedecus; immo pudet esse id, quod non haberi nos indignamur. At valetudini cavemus à vigiliis & acri studio: turpe dictu, animum incultum negligimus, dum corpori metuimus, cujus vires quis non imminuat, quo majores acquirantur animo? quanquam certe qui hæc causantur perditissimi plerique, abjectâ omni temporis, ingenii, valetudinis curâ, comessando, belluæ marinæ ad morem potando, inter scorta & aleam pernoctando, nihilo se infirmiores factos queruntur. Cum itaque sic se afficiant atque assuescant, ut ad omnem turpitudinem strenui atque alacres; ad omnes virtutis actiones & ingenii hebetes & languidi sint, culpam in naturam aut vitæ brevitatem falso & inique transferunt. Quod si modeste ac temperanter vitam degendo, primos ferocientis ætatis impetus ratione & pertinaci studiorum assiduitate malleamus edomare, cœlestem animi vigorem ab omni contagione & inquinamento purum & intactum servantes, incredibile esset, Auditores, nobis post annos aliquot respicientibus quantum spatium confecisse, quam ingens æquor eruditionis cursu

ourselves to be outstripped by laborers and farmers in nightly and early morning toil. They are more unwearied in humble matters for common nourishment, than we in most noble matters for an abounding life. We, although we aspire to the  
5 highest and best in human affairs, are able to endure neither exertion nor the disgrace of idleness; nay more, it causes shame to be that which we consider ourselves unworthy not to be.

We guard our health against late hours and severe studies; shameful to say, we leave the mind uncultured. While we  
10 venerate the body, who would not reduce its powers, that greater powers may be won for the mind? Although indeed there are numerous most profligate creatures who dispute these things, having cast off all concern for time, character, or health by eating and drinking after the manner of sea beasts,  
15 by spending the nights in debauchery and gambling; they make no complaint that they have made themselves weaker. Since therefore they so weaken and accustom themselves that they are eager and keen for all kinds of turpitude, but sluggish and feeble for all actions of virtue and character; they falsely  
20 and wickedly transfer the blame to Nature or to the shortness of life. But if, by spending our life modestly and temperately, we prefer to subdue the primary impulses of the ungovernable age through reason and constant zeal in studies, preserving the heavenly vigor of the mind pure and unharmed from all  
25 contagion and defilement; it would be incredible to us, my hearers, on looking back after several years, how great a distance has been traversed, what a mighty sea of knowledge we shall seem to have sailed over with a quiet passage.



placido navigâsse videremur. Cui & hoc egregium afferet compendium, si quis nôrit & artes utiles, & utilia in artibus recte seligere. Quot sunt imprimis Grammaticorum & Rhetorum nugæ aspernabiles? audias in tradenda arte sua illos  
5 barbare loquentes, hos infantissimos. Quid Logica? Regina quidem illa artium si pro dignitate tractetur: At heu quanta est in ratione insania! non hic homines, sed plane Acanthides carduis & spinis vescuntur. O dura *Messorum* ilia! Quid repetam illam, quam Metaphysicam vocant *Peripatetici*, non  
10 artem, locupletissimam quippe me ducit magnorum virorum autoritas, non artem inquam plerumque, sed infames scolopulos, sed *Lernam* quandam Sophismatum ad naufragium & pestem excogitatam? hæc illa quæ supra memini togatæ ignorantæ vulnera sunt; hæc eadem cucullorum scabies  
15 etiam ad Naturalem Philosophiam late permanavit: vexat Mathematicos demonstrationum inanis gloriola; his omnibus quæ nihil profutura sunt meritò contemptis & amputatis, admirationi erit quot annos integros lucrabimur. Quid! quod Jurisprudentiam præsertim nostram turbata methodus ob-  
20 scurat, & quod pejus est, sermo nescio quis, *Americanus* credo, aut ne humanus quidem, quo cum sæpe Leguleios nostros clamitantes audiverim, dubitare, subiit quibus non esset humanum os & loquela, an & his ulli affectus humani

To this also a distinct gain would be added: if one could both know the useful arts and could properly choose the useful in the arts. In the first place, how many are the despicable trifles of the grammarians and the rhetoricians! You may  
5 hear the latter, in teaching their art, speaking ungrammatically; the former in a most childish manner. What shall we say of Logic? Queen she is indeed of the arts if she is handled in accordance with her worth. But alas, how great is the folly of the rational faculty! Here, not men, but just finches indeed  
10 feed on thistles and thorns. "O hardy the bowels of the reapers!" Why should I mention that the subject which the Peripatetics call metaphysics is not knowledge most abundant, as the authority of great men instructs me—not knowledge, I say, for the most part, but infamous rocks, but a kind of Lern-  
15 ian swamp of sophisms, contrived for shipwreck and destruction? Those things which I mentioned before are the wounds of gowned Ignorance. This same itch of the hoods has also spread widely into natural philosophy. The empty little glory of demonstrations infests mathematics. With all of these  
20 things, which are of no value, despised and eliminated, it will be wonderful how many whole years we shall gain.

What of this, that a confused system makes especially obscure our legal science; and, what is worse, our speech is, I know not what, American, I suppose, or not even human!  
25 Wherefore, when I have sometimes heard our pettifoggers ranting, it has occurred to my mind to doubt whether a human mouth and speech belonged to them, or any human feelings dwelt in them. Certainly I am afraid that august

adessent; vereor certe ut possit nos sancta Justitia respicere, vereor ut querelas ullo tempore nostras aut injurias intelligat, quorum lînguâ loqui nesciat. Quapropter, Auditores, si nullum a pueritia diem sine præceptis & diligenti studio  
5 vacuum ire sinamus, si in arte, aliena supervacanea otiosa sapienter omittamus, certe intra ætatem *Alexandri* magni majus quiddam & gloriosius illo terrarum orbe subegerimus: tantumque aberit quo minus brevitatem vitæ, aut artis tædium incusemus, ut flere & lachrymari promptius nobis fu-  
10 turum credam, ut illi olim, non plures superesse mundos de quibus triumphemus. Expirat Ignorantia, jam ultimos videte conatus & morientem luctam; Mortales præcipue gloriâ tangi, antiquos illos illustres longa annorum series atque decursus cum celebrârit, nos decrepito mundi senio, nos pro-  
15 perante rerum omnium occasu premi, si quid prædicandum æterna laude reliquerimus, nostrum nomen in angusto versari, cujus ad memoriam vix ulla posteritas succedet, frustra jam tot Libros & præclara ingenii monumenta edi quæ vicinus mundi rogos cremarit. Non inficior illud esse posse veri-  
20 simile; at vero non morari gloriam cum bene feceris, id supra omnem gloriam est. Quam nihil beavit istos inanis hominum sermo cujus ad absentes & mortuos nulla voluptas, nullus

Justice may not be able to respect us: I am afraid that she may not understand at any time our accusations and legal actions, the language of which she would not know how to speak. Accordingly, my hearers, if from childhood we permit no  
5 day to pass by without lessons and diligent study; if from knowledge we wisely omit the foreign, the superfluous, the useless; certainly within the age of Alexander the Great we shall have subdued something greater and more glorious than his circle of the earth; and we shall be so far from finding fault  
10 with the brevity of life or the irksomeness of knowledge that I believe we shall be more ready to weep and shed tears, as did that famous one long ago, because no more worlds are left over which we may triumph.

Ignorance breathes its last! Now behold the final struggles  
15 and the dying effort! We living mortals particularly are to be cheated out of glory, while a long chain and descent of years has made famous those illustrious ancients; we, in the decadent old age of the world, we, by the speedy destruction of all things, are to be overwhelmed, if we shall have left be-  
20 hind anything to be extolled with everlasting praise; our name is to abide but a short time, for hardly may any posterity succeed to its memory; vain is it now to produce so many books and eminent monuments of ability, which the approaching funeral pyre of the world will consume.

25 I do not deny that this can very likely take place. But, in truth, not to value fame when you have done well, that is beyond all glory. How little has the idle discourse of men enriched the departed and the dead, discourse of which no

sensus pervenire potuit? nos sempiternum ævum expectemus quod nostrorum in terris saltem benefactorum memoriam nunquam delebit; in quo, si quid hic pulchre meruimus, præsentibus ipsi audiemus, in quo qui prius in hac vita continentissime actâ omne tempus bonis artibus dederint, iisque homines adjuverint, eos singulari & summâ supra omnes scientiâ auctos esse futuros multi graviter philosophati sunt. Jam cavillari desinant ignavi quæcunque adhuc nobis in scientiis incerta atque perplexa sint, quæ tamen non tam scientiæ, quam homini attribuenda sunt; hoc est, Auditores, quod & illud nescire *Socraticum* & timidam Scepticorum hæsitacionem aut refellit, aut consolatur, aut compensat. Jam vero tandem aliquando quænam Ignorantiæ beatitudo? sua sibi habere, à nemine lædi, omni curâ & molestia supersedere, vitam secure & quiete, quoad potest, traducere; verum hæc feræ aut volucris cujuspian vita est quæ in altis & penitissimis sylvis in tuto nidulum cælo quamproximum habet, pullos educit, sine aucupii metu in pastum volat, diluculo, vesperique suaves modulos emodulatur. Quid ad hæc desideratur æthereus ille animi vigor? Exuat ergo hominem, dabitur sane *Circæum* poculum, ad bestias prona emigret: Ad bestias vero? at illæ tam turpem hospitem excipere nolunt, si quidem illæ sive inferioris cujusdam rationis participes, quod plurimi disputârunt, sive pollenti quodam instinctu sagaces, aut artes, aut artium simile quoddam apud se exercent. Namque & Canes in persequenda fera Dialecticæ non ignaros esse nar-

delight, no emotion could reach them? May we hope for an eternal life, which will never wipe out the memory at least of our good deeds on earth: in which, if we have nobly deserved anything here, we ourselves, being present, shall hear it; in  
5 which many have seriously reasoned that those would be exalted above all by a unique and supreme knowledge, who, first in this life, spent most temperately, have given all their time to good employments, and by them have aided mankind. Thenceforth let the lazy cease to cavil over whatever up to  
10 this time may have been to us uncertain and involved in the sciences; which, however, ought to be attributed not so much to science as to man. That it is, my hearers, which either disproves or mitigates or counter-balances both that Socratic ignorance and the cautious uncertainty of the Sceptics.

15 Now in faith what truly is the blessedness of Ignorance? To possess its own for itself, to be defamed by nobody, to avoid every care and trouble, to spend life as easily and calmly as possible. But this is the life of a beast or of some bird which has its nest for safety as close to the sky as possible, on the  
20 heights or in the deepest forests, which trains its young, which flies to the feeding ground without fear of the fowler, which at dawn and at evening sings sweet strains. What does that ethereal vigor of the soul long for beyond these? Well, let it lay aside the human; let it be given the Circean cup; stooping  
25 let it migrate to the beasts.

To the beasts, in truth? But they do not wish to receive such a vile guest, since they are either partakers of some low form of reasoning, as many argue, or they are wise with a certain

ratur apud *Plutarchum*, & si ad trivia forte ventum sit, plane disjuncto uti Syllogismo. Lusciniæ veluti præcepta quædam Musices pullis suis tradere solere refert *Aristoteles*; unaquæque fere bestia sibi medica est, multæ etiam insignia medicinæ documenta hominibus dedere. *Ibis Ægyptia* alvi purgandæ utilitatem, *Hippopotamus* detrahendi sanguinis ostendit. Quis dicat Astronomiæ expertes à quibus tot ventorum, imbrium, inundationum serenitatis præsagia petantur? Quam prudenti & severâ Ethicâ supervolantes montem *Taurum* anseres obturato lapillis ore periculosæ loquacitati moderantur; multa formicis res domestica, civitas apibus debet; excubias habendi, triquetram aciem ordinandi rationem ars militaris gruum esse agnoscit. Sapiunt altius bestiæ, quam ut suo cœtu & consortio ignorantiam dignentur; inferius detrudunt. Quid ergo? ad truncos & saxa. At ipsi trunci, ipsa arbusta, totumque nemus ad doctissima *Orphei* carmina solutis quondam radicibus festinavêre. Sæpe etiam mysteriorum capaces, ut quercus olim *Dodoneæ*, divina Oracula reddidêre. Saxa etiam sacræ Poetarum voci docilitate quadam respondent: an & hæc aspernantur à se Ignorantiam? Num

powerful instinct; they employ among themselves either the arts or something like the arts. For, according to Plutarch, it is said that even the dogs are not ignorant of logic, while tracking wild beasts; and if one should come by chance to a  
5 place where three ways meet, clearly he knows how to use a disjunctive syllogism. The nightingale, says Aristotle, is accustomed to teach its young certain rules, as it were, of music. Almost every animal is its own doctor; likewise many have given to mankind remarkable illustrations of the healing art.  
10 The Egyptian ibis shows the value of purging the bowels; the hippopotamus of letting blood. Who can say they are without knowledge of astronomy, from whom are obtained so many prognostications of winds, storms, floods, and pleasant weather? How, by a very wise and strict custom, do the  
15 geese, while flying over the Taurus mountain, lessen the danger of talkativeness by stopping their mouths with pebbles? Household affairs owe many things to the ants, the state to the bees, the art of war credits to the cranes the expedient of posting sentries and the triangular order of battle. The  
20 beasts possess deeper wisdom than to deem Ignorance fit for their gatherings and associations; lower do they drive it.

What next? As to trees and rocks? But the trees themselves, the very bushes, and every grove once on a time, unfettered by roots, hastened after the most skilled songs of Or-  
25 pheus. Often also, keepers of mysteries, like the Dodonian oak of old, they rendered divine oracles. Likewise the rocks reply with a certain docility to the sacred voice of the poets. Do not even these also drive Ignorance away from them-



igitur infra omne Brutorum genus, infra Stipites & Saxa, infra omnem Naturæ ordinem licebit in illo Epicureorum non-esse requiescere? Ne id quidem: quandoquidem necesse est, quod pejus, quod vilius, quod magis miserum, quod infimum est, esse Ignorantiam? Ad vos venio, Auditores intelligentissimi, nam & ipse si nihil dixissem, vos mihi tot non tam Argumenta, quam tela video, quæ ego in Ignorantiam usque ad perniciem contorquebo. Ego jam Classicum cecini, vos ruite in prælium; summovete à vobis hostem  
10 hanc, prohibete vestris porticibus & ambulacris; hanc si aliquid esse patiamini, vos ipsi illud eritis, quod nostis omnium esse miserrimum. Vestra itaque hæc omnium causa est. Quare si ego jam multo fortasse proluxior fuerim, quam pro consuetudine hujus loci liceret, præterquam quod ipsa rei  
15 dignitas hos postulabat, dabitis & vos mihi veniam, opinor, Judices, quandoquidem, tanto magis intelligitis in vos quosim animo, quam vestri studiosus, quos Labores, quas Vigiliæ vestrâ causâ non recusârim. Dixi.

FINIS

selves? Will it then be permitted to find repose in that Not-Being of the Epicureans, below every kind of brute, below the trees and rocks, below every rank of Nature? Not even that, since it is necessary that what is more evil, what is more base,  
5 what is more wretched, what is lowest, be Ignorance.

I come to you, my most intelligent auditors; for, even though I myself had said nothing, I perceive that for me you are not so many arguments as weapons, which I will turn against Ignorance, even to its destruction. I have now sounded  
10 the trumpet; do you rush into battle; drive away this enemy from you; ward it off from your porticoes and walks. If you should permit it to become something, you yourselves will become that which you know is the most wretched of all. Yours therefore is this cause of all. Wherefore, if I have per-  
15 chance been much more wordy than is permitted by the custom of this exercise, beyond that which the very dignity of the subject demanded, even you, my judges, will grant to me forbearance, I think, since you understand so much the better my opinion of you, how zealous I am for you, what labors, what  
20 vigils I have not refused in your behalf. I have spoken.

THE END.



AN EARLY PROLUSION BY  
JOHN MILTON AND  
MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE

# An Early Prolusion by JOHN MILTON

Mane citus lectum fuge—

Tritum est vetustate proverbium. diluculo surgere saluber-  
rimum est nec sanè minus verum quàm antiquum: etenim si  
ordine supputare conabor singulas huius rei utilitates opus  
5 ardui laboris obire videbor: surge igitur, surge deses nec  
semper teneat te mollis lectus, nescis quot oblectamenta præbet  
aurora. Oculos delectare cupis? aspice solem purpureo robore  
orientem, cælum purum, et salubre, herbescentem agrorum  
viriditatem, florum omnium varietatem. Aures iuvare velis?  
10 audi argutos auvium concentus et leves apum susurros: naribus  
placebis? non satiari possis suavitate odorum qui è floribus  
efflantur. Quòd si hæc non arrident, rationem salutis tuæ  
aliquantulùm quæso ducas; quippe summo mane cubitu sur-  
gere ad firmam corporis valetudinem non parum conducit  
15 studiis verò aptissimum est tunc enim in numerato habes in-  
genium. Præterea boni regis est non somno immodico corpus  
saginare et vitam feriatam et laboris vacuum transigere, at  
reipublicæ cum nocte tum die consulere ut argutè hortatur  
Theocritus

20 Οὐ χρὴ καμᾶσθαι βαθέως

Et apud Homerum sic Somnus alloquitur Agamemnonem

Εὐδεις Ἄτρεος υἱὲ δαίφρονος ἱπποδάμοιο  
οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὖδειν βουλήφορον ἄνδρα

# An Early Prolusion by JOHN MILTON

*"In the Morning Rise up Early"*——'tis a proverb worn with age. It is most healthy to rise at break of day, nor indeed is the saying less true than old, for if I shall try to recount in order the several advantages of this, I shall seem to undertake  
5 a task of heavy labor. Rise, then, rise, thou lazy fellow, let not the soft couch hold thee forever. You know not how many pleasures the dawn brings. Would you delight your eyes? Look at the sun rising in ruddy vigor, the pure and healthful sky, the flourishing green of the fields, the variety of all the  
10 flowers. Would you delight your ears? Listen to the clear concert of the birds and the light humming of the bees. Would you please your nostrils? You cannot have enough of the sweetness of the scents that breathe from the flowers. But if this please you not, I beg you to consider a little the argument  
15 of your health; for to rise from bed at early morn is in no slight degree conducive to a strong constitution; it is in fact best for study, for then "you have wit in readiness". Besides, it is the part of a good king not to pamper his body with too much sleep, and live a life all holidays and free from toil, but to plan  
20 for the commonwealth night and day, as Theocritus [viii, 66] wisely urges "It is not well to sleep deep." And in Homer [*Iliad*, ii, 23–24] the Dream thus speaks to Agamemnon

Sleepest thou, son of wise-minded, horse-taming Atreus?  
'Tis not well for a man of counsel to sleep all night through.

Quam ob causam fabulantur poetæ Tithonum, et Cephalum  
Auroræ amasios fuisse? nimirum quòd somni parcissimi  
fuere, et relicto cubili agros pictos et herbis multicoloribus  
vestitos obire soliti sunt. Sed ut somnolentiam radicitus ex-  
5 tirparem, ut nullum eius vestigium relinquerem incommoda  
innumera quæ ab illâ omnibus manant nudare aggrediar. hæc  
ingenium vegetum hebetat, et obtundit et memoriæ quàm  
plurimum officit; ecquid turpius esse possit quàm in multum  
diem stertere et maximam vitæ tuæ partem morti tanquam  
10 sacrare? At tu qui summæ rei præses tuum est potissimum  
vigilias agere et somnum arctiorem obrepentem penitus dis-  
cutere. multi enim, hostes somno gravi pressos et quasi sepul-  
tos adorti occisione occiderunt et tantam stragem ediderunt ut  
aut visu aut auditu miserabile sit. Millia huiusmodi exempla,  
15 quæ inexhausto stylo narrare potui, mihi suppeditantur. At si  
Asianam illam exuberantiam, imitabor, profectò vereor ne  
miseros auditores tædio enecabo.

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Why do the poets fable Tithonus and Cephalus to have loved Dawn? Surely because they were sparing of sleep; and, leaving their beds, were wont to roam the fields, decked and clad with many-colored flowers. But to extirpate somnolence  
5 utterly, to leave no trace of it, I shall attempt to lay bare the numberless inconveniences that flow to all from it. It blunts and dulls keen talent, and greatly injures memory. Can anything be baser than to snore far into the day, and, to consecrate, as it were, the chief part of your life to death? But you who  
10 bear rule, you especially should be wide awake, and utterly rout gripping sleep as it creeps upon you. For many, coming upon enemies,whelmed by heavy sleep, and as it were, buried therein, have smitten them with slaughter, and wrought such havoc as is pitiful to see or hear of. A thousand examples of  
15 this kind occur to me which I could tell with an inexhaustible pen. But if I imitate such Asiatic exuberance, I fear lest I shall murder my wretched listeners with boredom.



# Miscellaneous Correspondence in Foreign Tongues

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## XXXII. DIODATI to MILTON.

Θεόσδοτος Μίλτωνι εὐφραίνεσθαι.

Ἡ μὲν παροῦσα κατάστασις τοῦ ἀέρος δοκεῖ φθονερώτερον  
διακεῖσθαι πρὸς ἃ ἡμεῖς πρῶτὶ διαλυόμενοι ἐθέμεθα, χειμάζουσα,  
καὶ ταρασσομένη δύο ἤδη ὄλας ἡμέρας· ἀλλ' ὁμως τοσοῦτον  
5 ἐπιθυμῶ τῆς σῆς συνδιατήσεως, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμίας ἤδη εὐδίαν,  
καὶ γαλήνην, καὶ πάντα χρυσᾶ εἰς τὸν αὔριον ὄνειρώττειν, καὶ  
μονονοῦ μαντεύεσθαι, ἵνα λόγων φιλοσόφων, καὶ πεπαιδευμένων  
εὐωχώμεθα ἐξ ἀλλήλων. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἡβουλόμην πρὸς σε γράφειν  
τοῦ προκαλεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναθαρσύνειν χάριν, δείσας μὴ πρὸς ἕτερα  
10 ἅττα νοῦν προσέχης ἀπελπίσας ἡλιασμοῦς, καὶ ἡδυπαθείας, εἰς τὸ  
παρόν γε. ἀλλὰ συ θάρσει ὦ φίλε, καὶ ἔμμενε τῷ δόξαντι συν-  
αμφοῖν, καὶ ἀναλάμβανε διθήσειν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐορταστικὴν, καὶ  
φαιδροτέραν τῆς καθημερινῆς. καὶ γὰρ ἐσαύριον ἔσται πάντα  
καλῶς, καὶ ὁ ἀήρ, καὶ ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς, καὶ δένδρα, καὶ  
15 ὀρνίθια, καὶ γῆ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐορτάζουσιν ἡμῖν συγγελάσουσιν,  
καὶ συγχορεύσουσι· τὸ δὴ ἀνεμεσήτως λελέχθω. μόνον συ ἔτοιμος  
γίνου ἢ κληθεῖς ἐξορμαῖσθαι, ἢ καὶ ἄκλητος ποθοῦντι ἐπελθεῖν.  
αὐτόματος δὲ οἱ ἦλθε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος. ἐρῶρωσο.

[1625.]

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# Miscellaneous Correspondence in Foreign Tongues

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## XXXII. DIODATI *to* MILTON.

Diodati bids Milton a cheerful greeting.

The present state of the weather seems to remain too jealous for what we agreed to at parting recently, for it has now been stormy and unsettled for two whole days. But  
5 nevertheless, so much do I long for your society that, in my desire, I dream and almost prophesy fair weather, and a calm, and everything golden for the morrow, so that we may enjoy learned and philosophical discourse together. Therefore I wanted to write to you, that I might thus early invite and  
10 encourage you, fearing lest you turn your mind to other plans, in despair of sunshine and enjoyment, at least for the time being. But be of good cheer, my friend, and hold fast to what we planned together, and adopt a holiday frame of mind, and gayer than that of today. For all will be fair tomorrow : and  
15 the air, and the sun, and the river, and trees, and birds, and earth, and men will laugh and dance together with us, as we make holiday, let this last be said without arrogance. Only be ready to start when called, or even uncalled, to come to me who long [to see you.] “For Menelaus, good at the war cry,  
20 came to him of his own accord.” [*Iliad*, ii, 408.] Farewell.  
[1625.]

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XXXIII. DIODATI *to* MILTON.

Θεόδοτος Μίλτωνι χαίρειν.

Οὐδὲν ἔχω ἐγκαλεῖν τῇ νῦν διαγωγῇ μου ἐκτὸς τούτου ἐνός,  
 ὅτι στερίσκομαι ψυχῆς τινος γενναίας λόγον αἰτεῖν, καὶ διδόναι  
 ἐπισταμένης. τοίην τοι κεφαλὴν ποθέω. τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἀφθονα πάντα  
 5 ὑπάρχει ἐνταῦθα, ἐν ἀγρῷ. τί γὰρ ἂν ἔτι λείποι, ὅποταν ἡματα  
 μακρὰ, τόποι κάλλιστοι ἄνθεσι, καὶ φύλλοις κομῶντες, καὶ βρύοντες,  
 ἐπὶ παντὶ κλάδῳ ἀηδῶν, ἢ ἀκανθίς, ἢ ἄλλο τι ὀρνίθιον ψῆδαῖς, καὶ  
 μυυρισμοῖς ἐμφιλοτιμεῖται, περίπατοι ποικιλώτατοι, τράπεζα οὔτε  
 ἐνδεής, οὔτε κατάχορος, ὕπνοι ἀθόρυβοι; εἰ ἐσθλὸν τινα ἐταῖρον  
 10 τούτεστι πεπαιδευμένον, καὶ μεμνημένον, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκτόμῃν τοῦ  
 τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέως εὐδαιμονέστερος ἂν γενοίμην. ἀλλ' ἐστὶν  
 αἰεὶ τι ἐλλειπὲς ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πράγμασι, πρὸς δ' οὐδεὶς μετ-  
 ρότητος. σὺ δὲ ὦ θαυμάσιε, τί καταφρονεῖς τῶν τῆς φύσεως  
 δωρημάτων; τί καρτερεῖς ἀπροφασίστως, βιβλίους, καὶ λογιδίους  
 15 παννύχιον, πανῆμαρ προσφυόμενος; ζῆν, γέλα, χρῶ τῇ νεότητι,  
 καὶ ταῖς ὥραις, καὶ παύου ἀναγινώσκων τὰς σπουδὰς, καὶ τὰς  
 ἀνέσεις καὶ ραστώνας τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν, αὐτὸς κατατριβόμενος  
 τέως ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν ἀπασιν ἄλλοις ἥττων σου ὑπάρχων, ἐν τούτῳ,  
 τῷ μέτρον πόνων εἰδέναι, κρείττων καὶ δοκῶ ἐμμανῶ, καὶ εἰμί.  
 20 ἔρρωσο, καὶ παῖζε, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ Σαρδανάπαλον τὸν ἐν Σόλοις.

[1626.]

XXXIII. DIODATI *to* MILTON.

Diodati greets Milton.

I have nothing to complain of in my present mode of life, save one thing that I lack a kindred soul, to give and take understandingly of conversation. I do miss such a person; but  
5 all else joyous abounds here in the country. For what is lacking, when days are long, the scenery most fair with flowers, and waving and teeming with leaves; on every branch a goldfinch or a nightingale, or some other little bird emulously singing and warbling? There are walks of varied charm, a  
10 table neither scant nor overladen, and quiet sleep. Could I add to these an excellent companion, learned and initiate, I would be happier than the King of Persia. But one lacks something always in human affairs, wherefore moderation is needed. But you, extraordinary man, why do you despise the gifts of  
15 nature? Why inexcusably persist in hanging over books and studies all day and all night? Live, laugh make the most of youth and the hours; and cease studying the zeals and recreations and indolences of the wise men of old, wearing yourself out the while. I, in all things else inferior to you, in this one  
20 thing, in knowing when to set a measure to my labors, both seem to myself, and am, your better. Farewell and be joyous—though not in the fashion of Sardanapalus in Cilicia.

[Cheshire, Spring, 1626.]

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XXXIV. DATI *to* MILTON.

Quando era morta in me ogni speranza, benché vivissimo il desiderio di ricever Lettere di V. S. veggio comparirmi una sua sopra quanto io possa esprimere con questa penna gratissima. O quanti motivi di smisurata allegrezza arrecò nel mio cuore  
5 quella piccola carta! carta scritta da amico sì virtuoso, e sì caro; che dopo sì lungo tempo da sì remota provincia, mi portò nuove della salute di lei quanta bramata altrettanto dubbiosa, e mi accertò che di me si manteneva memoria tanto fresca, e si amorevole nell' animo gentilissimo del Sig<sup>r</sup> Gio: Miltoni.  
10 Conobbi ancora in quale stima fosse appresso di Lei la mia Patria, che frà suoi pregi annovera d' aver nella grande Inghilterra (come disse quel Poeta divisa dal nostro Mondo) chi le sue glorie magnifica, ama i suoi Cittadini, celebra i suoi Scrittori, e nel suo bello Idioma si propriamente e si polita-  
15 mente scrive, e ragiona.

E questo appunto mi mosse a rispondere Toscanamente alla Lettera latinissima di V. S., di cui è dote singularissima ravvivare le Lingue morte, e le straniere far proprie, sperando che le sia per esser grato il suono di quella che ella sì ben parla, e  
20 possiede. Per la stessa cagione piglierò ardire di pregarla a volere onorare cò suoi versi la gloriosa memoria del Sig<sup>r</sup> Francesco Rovai egregio Poeta Fiorentino immaturamente defunto, e per quanto io credo da lei ben conosciuto. Lo stesso hanno fatto a mia petizione i Si<sup>r</sup>i Niccolò Einsio, e Isac Vossio Olan-  
25 desi miei Amici, e Padroni singolarissimi, e Letterati famosi dell' età nostra. Era il Sig<sup>r</sup> Francesco nobile di nascita, dotato

XXXIV. DATI *to* MILTON.

When all hope of receiving a letter from you was dead in me, although desire was still much alive, there comes to me one of yours, more welcome to me than I can express with this pen. Oh, how many causes of joy immeasurable this little paper  
5 wakened in my heart!—a paper written by so talented and so dear a friend, that after so long a time and from so remote a province brings me news of the health, so longed for and so feared for, and assures me that so fresh and affectionate a memory of me is maintained in the gentle soul of John Milton.  
10 I also discovered from it in what esteem you held my country, which counts it among its greatest treasures to have in that great England (divided from the world, as a certain poet has said) one who magnifies our glories, loves our citizens, celebrates our writers, and who writes and speaks in so correct  
15 and polished a fashion in our beautiful idiom.

And it is just this that moves me to reply in Tuscan to your very Latin letter, hoping that you, who are so singularly gifted to revive the dead languages and make foreign ones your own, will find pleasing the sound of that which you speak and  
20 possess so well. By the same occasion I take courage to beseech you to honor with your verses the glorious memory of Signor Francesco Rovai, egregious Florentine poet, dead before his prime, and I think well known to you. The worthy gentlemen, Nicholas Heinsius and Isaac Vossius of Holland, my friends  
25 and very singular patrons and famous men of letters of our age have done the same [writing at my request]. Signor Francesco

dalla Natura d' ingegno elevatissimo, e arricchito dall' arte, e dallo Studio indefesso delle Scienze più belle. Intendeva benissimo la Lingua Greca parlava la Franzese, scriveva stupendamente la Latina, e la Toscana. Cantò tragedie, valse nelle  
5 Canzoni Liriche, nelle quali lodò gli' Eroi, e depresse i Vizi, e particolarmente in quelle sette fatte contro ai sette Capitali. Era manierofo, cortese, amato dai Principi, di costumi incorrotti, e religiosissimi. Morì giovane senza aver pubblicato l'Opere sue. Dagli Amici di esso a Lui si preparano Esequie  
10 sontuose, solo in questo manchevoli che dell' Orazione Funerale a me è stata imposta la Carica. Se ella si compiacerà, com' io spero di mandarmi in tal proposito qualche frutto del suo amenissimo ingegno si obbligherà non me solo, ma tutta la mia Patria e pubblicate che saranno le Poesie del Sig.<sup>r</sup> Francesco e le lodi del medesimo da me le ne saranno inviate le  
15 copie. Mà già che ho' cominciato a parlar della nostra lingua, e de' nostri Poeti piacemi partecipare a V.S. una delle mie Osservazioni che negl' avanzi del tempo concedutimi dalle occupazioni mercantili, vò talora facendo sopra i nostri scrittori.  
20 L'altrieri mentre io faceva riflessione sopra quel ternario del Petrarca Trionf. d'Amor. c.3

Dura legge d'Amor, mà benchè obliqua  
servar conviensi pero ch'ella aggiunge  
di cielo in terra universale antiqua.

25 Veddi che già il dottiss. Castelvetro aveva notato questo

was noble of birth, gifted by nature with the highest genius, and enriched by art and by the indefatigable study of the finest sciences. He understood Greek very well, spoke French, wrote brilliantly in Latin and Tuscan. He wrote tragedies and was  
5 praiseworthy in lyric poetry in which he praised heroes, and deprecated the vices, particularly in those seven Canzoni made against the Seven Deadly Sins. He was polite, courteous, beloved of princes, of uncorrupted manners, and most pious. He died young, without having published his works; his  
10 friends are preparing for him sumptuous exequies which will be deficient only in that I have been charged with the funeral oration. If, as I hope, you will be so good as to send me for this purpose some fruit of your most pleasant wit, you will thus oblige not me alone, but all my fatherland, and when  
15 the poetry of Signor Francesco and the praises of the same are published, copies shall be sent you.

But now that I have begun to speak of our language and of our poets, I should like to share with you some of the observations on our writers I have made in the time spared to me by  
20 my mercantile pursuits. The day before yesterday, while I was reflecting on that *ternario* of Petrarch *The Triumph of Love*, Canto II, 148–150 [now usually numbered Canto III]

Stern laws of love, even though harsh,  
To be obeyed, because they stretch  
25 From heaven to earth, universal, ancient.

I saw that the most learned Castelvetro had already noted that



luogo aver qualche simiglianza con quel d'Orazio L. I. Ode 23.

Sic visum Veneri, cui placet impares  
formas, atque animos, sub iuga ahenae  
saeco mittere cum ioco.

- 5 Ottimamente imitato dal suscitatore della Poesia Pindarica,  
e Anacreontica Gabbriello Chiabrera, nella Canzonetta 18ª

Ah che vien cenere  
penando un amator benchè fedele  
così vuol Venere  
10 nata nell' Ocean nume crudele.

Nei quali versi non solo si riconosce qualche particella presa da Orazio, sì come il restante trasportato da Tibullo non senza notabil miglioramento, appresso il quale Lib. I. Eleg. 2. contro ai revelatori dei Segreti amorosi si legge questa minaccia

- 15 Nam fuerit quicumque loquax is sanguine natam  
is Venerem e rapido sentiet esse mari.

Dove parendomi che l'Aggiunto di *rapido* dato al mare operi poco, o niente, leggerei *rabido* dalla qual voce, col far solo capovolgere una Lettera, resulta grandissima forza al concetto  
20 di Tibullo, che vuole esprimere Venere rigorosa, e crudele in punire un tal delitto. A questa correzione si oppongono tutti i testi stampati, e tutti i Comentari del medesimo Poeta i quali

this passage had some similarity to that of Horace, *Odes*, I, 23  
[should be 33], 10

So Venus wills it, to whom it is pleasing  
Under her brazen yoke forms and minds unequal  
5 To place in cruel jest

This is imitated in the best manner by that sustainer of Pindaric  
and Anacreontic Poetry, Gabriel Chiabrera in his [5th] *Can-*  
*zonetta* [*Non si temono i tormenti d'Amor*, at the end]

Ah, that ashes should come  
10 Torturing a lover, though faithful;—  
Thus Venus wills,  
Born of the Ocean, cruel divinity.

In these verses one recognizes not only a certain scrap taken  
from Horace, but also the rest borrowed out of Tibullus, not  
15 without considerable improvement, in which author one reads  
the following threat against the betrayers of amorous secrets,  
[*Elegies*, I, ii, 40]

For if there be a gossip, he will learn that Venus  
Is born of blood and of the rapid sea.

20 Here it appears to me that the adjective *rapid*, applied to the  
sea, is of little or no force. I would read *rabid*, by which term,  
merely by the inversion of one letter, the greatest vigor is added  
to the concept of Tibullus, who wishes to describe Venus as  
relentless and cruel in punishing such a crime. To this correc-  
25 tion all the printed texts, and all the commentaries are opposed,

leggono *rapido*, epiteto molto più conveniente al veloce corso dei fiumi, che all' impeto del mare, mà tuttavia da molti poeti anche al mare applicato.

Catullo de Berecynth. et Aty.

5            *Rapidum salum tulistis truculentaque Pelagi*

Virgilio o per dir meglio con lo Scaligero Corn. Sev. in Aetna

*Sicuti cum curvo rapidum mare cernitur æstu.*

Seneca Ercol. Eteo. verso 552

—— et rapidum mare

10           *Taurus puellæ vector Assiriæ scidit.*

Valerio Flacco Argon. l. 4

—— rapidum ventis certantibus æquor

Claudio

*Ille Tyron rapidi per tot discrimina ponti*

15 *Et altri ancora; mà osservisi che tutti parlano di tempeste, overo cercano di esprimere la furia del Mare tempestoso, che però gli torna acconciamente il chiamarlo rapido, e Catullo nell' Argonaut. benissimo nomino rapido il mare di Ellesponto perche per lo flusso, e refluxo corre in quello stretto continua-*

all of them reading *rapid*, an epithet much better suited to the swift course of rivers than to the fury of the sea, though also applied to the sea by many poets.

Catullus, on Berecynthia [Cybele] and Attis, [*Carmina*,  
5 lxiii, 16]

You endured the rapid sea, and the savagery of the main.

“Vergil,” or rather, according to Scaliger, Cornelius Severus, in the *Ætna*, [I. 495]

Even as when the rapid sea is seen with curving swell

10 Seneca, *Hercules Cætaeus*, l. 552

And, as a bull, bearing the Assyrian damsel,  
He cut the rapid sea.

Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* [IV, 270]

——the rapid sea with struggling winds

15 Claudian [?]

He [sought] Tyre through so many struggles of the rapid sea and many others [may be cited]. But observe that they are all speaking of the tempest, or seeking to express the fury of the tempestuous sea, wherefore, by an appropriate figure they call  
20 it *rapid*. And Catullus on the Argonauts [*Carmina*, lxiv, 358] well names *rapid* the sea of the Hellespont, on account of the ebb and flood [of the tide] which runs continually in that

mente. Mà a Tibullo leva tutta la bizzaria il dire

Sentiranno i loquaci essere dal Sanguè  
e dal rapido mar Venere nata

piuttosto che

5 e dal rabbioso Mar Venere nata.

Favoriscono questa mia opinione tutti quei Poeti i quali hanno chiamato il mare. Ferum, sævum, insanum, iratum, e altrimenti per espressione di crudeltà; Ma doppiamente illustrano i luoghi da me considerati. Seneca nell' Ipolito v. 273

10 Diva non miti generata ponto

e Vergil. Eneid. L. 5. v. 802 che fà dire a Nettuno parlante a Venere

Fas omne est Cytherea meis te fidere regnis  
unde genus ducis: merui quoque sæpe, furores  
15 compressi, et *rabiem* tantam cælique *marisque*.

Confermano la mia Lezione il medesimo Virgil. il quale disse —

rabies Scyllæa

Valerio Flacc. L. 4. v. 508 in circa

20 Turbine sic rapido populos atque æquora longè  
transabeunt, nullaque datur considerare terra

e v. 582 —

———pontum penetraverit ullam  
cum ratis et rabidi steterint in gurgite montes

strait. But it takes away the bizarre fancy of Tibullus to say that "Babblers will feel that Venus is born of blood and the *rapid* sea" rather than "Venus, born of the *rabid* sea."

All the poets who have called the sea *wild, savage, mad, angry*, and have used other epithets of cruelty, favor this opinion of mine; but doubly they illustrate the passages I am considering.

Seneca, in the *Hippolytus*, [*Phædra*], l. 273

Goddess born of the pitiless sea

10 and Vergil, *Æneid*, V, 802, who makes Neptune say, speaking to Venus,

It is quite right, Cytherea, to trust to my kingdom  
Whence you draw your origin.

I deserve it, often have I quelled

15 The furies and great rabidity of sky and sea

The same Vergil [*Æneid*, I, 200] confirms my reading when he mentions "Scylla's *rabidity*".

Valerius Flaccus, IV, about line 508 [510-511]

In such a rapid whirlwind they pass far

20 O'er seas and peoples, no land given to rest in

and in line 582

Only when a ship shall have penetrated the sea  
And rabid Symplegades have stood still in the flood.

Silio Italico L. 15.

Agmina ut aspexit, rabidi ceu bellua ponti.

Il medesimo errore appunto è trapassato nella Poetica d'Orazio appresso il quale comunemente si legge parlandosi d'Orfeo:

5 Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres, rapidosque Leones

dove ciascheduno di mediocre ingegno conosce quanto sia freddo, e scontinuatò concetto il dire che il Canto d'Orfeo avesse virtù di appiacevolire i Leoni velocissimi, e quanto meglio torni come leggono il Cruquio, e il Lambino in alcuni  
10 manuscritti

Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres, rabidosque Leones

sendo proprissimo l'appiacevolire i rabbiosi, aggiunto conveniente ai Leoni. Onde Cornelio Gallo, o come meglio si crede Massimiano Poeta Eleg. prima.

15 Fracta diu rabidi compescitur ira Leonis

benchè appresso il medesimo si legga Eleg. 5

tu cogis *rapidas* affectus discere tigres

che per le stesse ragioni del Luogo d'Orazio tornerebbe meglio *rabidas* come le chiamo Virgil. Georg. 2. v. 151——

20 At rabidæ tigres absunt, et sæva Leonum  
semina——

Mà troppo per avventura mi sono avanzato, e col discorso, e con l'ardire; tornando adunque al mio primo scopo che fù di emendare Tibullo, e illustrare il Chiabrera dico esser notissimo

Silius Italicus, XV, 784,

When he saw the van, like the beast of the rabid sea  
exactly the same erroneous reading has crept into the text of  
Horace's *Art of Poetry*, [l. 393] according to which one  
5 commonly reads, of Orpheus,

He is said from this to tame tigers and rapid lions  
where everyone of mediocre wit will understand how frigid  
and inconsequential a conceit it is to say that the song of  
Orpheus had the virtue of taming the speediest lions, and how  
10 much better the figure is, reading with Cruquius [Jacob de  
Crusque] and Lambinus in some MSS,

He is said from this to tame tigers and rabid lions  
since taming is properly applied to those raging, and the adjective  
is appropriate to lions. Whence Cornelius Gallus (or,  
15 according to better opinion, Maximian the Poet) in his first  
*Elegy* [l. 271]

Broken the wrath of the long rabid lion is quieted  
although afterwards in the same poet one reads in the fifth  
*Elegy* [l. 145]

20 You make the rapid tigers learn loves  
which, by the same reasons as apply to the passage in Horace,  
had better be changed to *rabid*. For Vergil calls them, *Georgics*,  
II, 151,

But rabid tigers are not there, nor the lions'  
25 Savage seed.



il nascimento di Venere dal Mare, come largamente notarono.

Natale Conti Mitolog.

Lilio Greg. Giraldi de Diis Gentium syntag. 13

Martino del Rio sopra il verso 273. dell' Ipolito di Seneca,  
5 e Ludovico della Cerda in Virg. Aen. L. 5. v. 802

Non è meno certo che appresso i poeti l'esser nato dal mare  
fù tenuto indizio infallibile di crudelta come disse A. Gell.  
L. 15. C. 21

Ferocissimos, et immanes, et alienos ab omni humanitate  
10 tamquam e mari genitos Neptuni filios dixerunt

Il medesimo Tibullo Eleg. 4. L. 3——

Nam nec te vasti genuerunt æquora ponti.

Catullo nell' Argonaut.

quod mare conceptum spumantibus expuit undis?

15 Ovid nell' epist. di Arianna a Teseo.

Nec pater est Aegeus, nec tu Pittheidos Aethræ  
filius: auctores saxa fretumque tui

Omero nel xviº dell' Iliade v. 34.

——— γλαυκὴ δὲ σ' ἔτιχτε θάλασσα  
20 πέτραι τ' ἡλιβαδοι, ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής  
cio, è

Tu dal Ceruleo mar, dall' alte pietre  
nascesti, perche sei di mente cruda

e il nostro Torquato Tasso dei sopracitati Poeti anzi emulo che  
25 imitatore canto nel xviº della sua Gerusalemme

But perhaps I have pressed too far through loquaciousness and zeal, Turning therefore to my primary object, which was to emend Tibullus, and illustrate Chiabrera, I say that the birth of Venus from the sea is very well known, as is noted at  
 5 large in the *Mythology* [IV, xiii] of Natalis Comes [Natale or Noël Conti]; Giglio Gregorio Giraldi, *On the Gods of the Heathen*, article 13; Martin Del Rio on line 273 of the *Hippolytus* of Seneca; and Ludovico della Cerda on Virgil's *Æneid*, V, 802. It is indubitable that according to the poets, to be born  
 10 of the sea was held to be an infallible sign of cruelty; as Aulus Gellius [XV, 21] says "They call the sons of Neptune most cruel and harsh and foreign to humanity, as though born of the sea."

Tibullus again [III, iv, 85]

15 For the waves of the vasty sea did not bear you.

Catullus, on the Argonauts, [*Carmina*, lxiv, 155]

What sea cast thee forth, born of its foaming waves?

Ovid, in his epistle from Ariadne to Theseus [*Heroides*, X, 131]

20 Your father is not Ægeus, nor are you the son of  
 Pittheus' daughter, Æthra,  
 But the stones and the narrow sea are your parents.

And our own Torquato Tasso, as much in emulation as imitation of the poets cited above, sings in the 16th Book of his  
 25 *Jerusalem Delivered* [stanza 57, 1-4]

Ne te Sofia produsse, e non sei nato  
 dell' Azio sangue tu; te l'Onda insana  
 del mar produsse, e il Caucaso gelato  
 e le mamme allattar di Tigre Ircana

- 5 Ne giunga nuovo ad alcuno che Venere Dea si piacevole e si  
 graziosa sia chimata dal Chiabrera nume crudele perchè Orazio  
 pure la disse

Mater sæva cupidinum

e Seneca nell' Ercole Eteo v. 543—

- 10 Timende matri teliger sævæ puer.

Partecipo a V. S. queste mie considerazioni sicuro d'esser com-  
 patito, e avvertito amorevolmente dalla sua esquisita dottrina  
 come la prego instantemente, supplicandola a perdonarmi se  
 l'affetto eccessivo, l'essere stato sì lungo tempo senza sue, e la  
 15 gran lontananza mi hanno fatto eccedere i limiti prescritti alle  
 Lettere. Duolmi in estremo che le turbolenze del Regno abbiano  
 turbati i suoi Studi, e stò ansiosamente attendendo le sue Poesie  
 nelle quali credo che mi si porgerà largo campo di ammiare la  
 finezza del suo ingegno, eccetto però in quelle che sono in dis-  
 20 prezzo della mia Religione, le quali benchè proferite da bocca  
 amica possono esser ben compatite, mà non lodate; questo  
 tuttavia non mi sia d'impedimento a ricever l'altre, scusando  
 la mia zelante libertà. Frà tanto mentre io prege il Cielo che  
 la faccia, e conservi felice, ella mi conservi dandomene segno

Sofia did not bear you, nor were you born of the blood  
Of Azzio. The mad waves of the sea bore you, and the frozen  
Caucasus, and the breasts of an Hyrcanian Tigress nursed you

Let none marvel then that Venus, so pleasant and gracious a  
5 Goddess, is called "cruel divinity" by Chiabrera, since Horace  
[*Carmina*, I, xix, 1] called her

Savage mother of desires

and Seneca in the *Hercules Œtaeus*, line 543, [addresses  
Cupid]

10 Armbearing youth, feared by your savage mother.

I share with you these reflections of mine, sure to be forgiven,  
and to be advised by your exquisite learning, as I earnestly pray  
you; and begging you to pardon me, if my excessive affection,  
my having been for so long a time without you, and the great  
15 distance between us, have made me exceed the limits pre-  
scribed for letters. I am very sorry that the turbulence of the  
Kingdom has disturbed your studies, and I am anxiously  
awaiting your poems in which I believe that I shall be afforded  
a large field for admiration of the fineness of your wit, except  
20 however in those which are in dispraise of my religion, which  
although offered by the lips of a friend, may indeed be excused,  
but not applauded. These will not be however an obstacle to  
my reception of the others, if you will excuse my zealous free-  
dom. In the meanwhile, I pray that Heaven will make and  
25 keep you happy. Do you keep me in your memory, giving me

co' suoi gratissimi comandamenti. Tutti li amici da me in nome di V. S. salutati affettuosamente la riveriscono.

Firenze primo 9<sup>bre</sup> 1647.

*Di V. S. Illustrissima*

5

*Ser. Devotissimo*

*Carlo Dati.*

XXXV. DATI *to* MILTON.

Ill<sup>mo</sup> Sig<sup>r</sup> e Pron. Oss<sup>o</sup>

Fino l'anno passato risposi alla cortesissima, ed elegantissima lettera di V. S. Ill<sup>ma</sup> affettuosamente ringraziandola  
 10 della memoria che per sua grazia si compiace tenere della mia osservanza. Scrissi, come fò adesso in Toscana, sapendo che la mia lingua è a lei sì cara, e familiare che nella sua bocca non apparisce straniera. Hò di poi ricevuto due copie delle sue eruditissime Poesie delle quali non mi poteva arrivare donativo  
 15 più caro, perche quantunque piccolo racchiude in se valore infinito per esser una Gemma del Tesoro del Sig. Gio. Miltoni. E come disse Teocrito —

——— ἡ μεγάλη χάρις

δώρω ξὺν ὀλίγῳ, πάντα δὲ τιμαῦτα τὰ πὰρ φίλων.

20

Gran pregio hà picciol dono e merta onore

Ciò che vien da gl' amici—

Le rendo adunque quelle grazie, che maggiore per me si possono e prego il cielo che mi dia fortuna di poterle dimostrare la mia devozione verso il suo merito. Non asconderi alla benevo-  
 25 lenza di V. S. Ill<sup>ma</sup> alcune nuove che son certo le saranno gratis-

a sign thereof by your welcome commands. All your friends, whom I greeted in your name affectionately, send you their respectful regards.

Your most devoted servant,

5

Carlo Dati.

Florence, November 1, 1647.

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XXXV. DATI *to* MILTON.

Most illustrious and most honored Sir,

At the end of last year I replied to your very courteous and elegant letter, thanking you affectionately for the kind  
10 memory you are pleased to entertain of me. I wrote, as I do now, in Tuscan, knowing that my language is so dear and familiar to you that in your mouth it appears not as a foreign tongue. Since then I have received two copies of your most erudite poems, than which there could not have reached me  
15 a more welcome gift; for, however little, it contains infinite value, from being a gem from the treasury of John Milton. And, as Theocritus says, [*Idylls*, xxviii, 24f.] “a great grace with a little gift, for all is precious from a friend.”

I return you therefore all the thanks I can, and pray Heaven  
20 to give me a chance to be able to show my devotion to your merit. I shall not keep from your illustrious benevolence some pieces of news which will be sure to please you. His Serene Highness, the Grand Duke, my master, has been pleased to confer on me the chair and lectureship of Classics in the  
25 Florentine Academy, vacant through the death of the most

- sime. Il Ser<sup>mo</sup> Granduca mio Sig<sup>r</sup> s'è compiaciuto di conferirmi la cattedra, e lettura delle lettere umane dell' Accademia Fiorentina vacata per la morte dell' eruditissimo S<sup>r</sup> Giovanni Doni gentiluomo fiorentino. Questa è carica onorevolissima, e sempre esercitata da Gentiluomini, e letterati di questa Patria, come già dal Poliziano, dà due Vettori, e due Adriani lumi delle lettere. La passata settimana per la morte del Ser<sup>mo</sup> Principe Lorenzo di Toscana Zio del Granduca Regnante feci l'orazione funerale, come ella sia publicata sarà mia cura inviarne copia
- 10 a V. S. Ill<sup>ma</sup> Hò alle mani diverse opere quali a Dio Piacendo tirerò avanti per farne quello giudicheranno meglio i miei dotti e amorevoli amici : Il S<sup>r</sup> Valerio Chimentelli è stato eletto da S. Altezza per Professore delle Lettere Greche in Pisa con grande aspettazione del suo valore.
- 15 I S<sup>ri</sup> Frescobaldi, Coltellini, Francini, Galilei, et altri infiniti unitamente le inviano affettuosi saluti, ed io come più d'ogn' altro obbligato con ricordarle il desiderio de suoi comandi mi ratifico per sempre vivere

Di V. S. Ill<sup>mo</sup>

20 Firenze 4 xbre 1648.

*All' Ill<sup>mo</sup> S<sup>r</sup> e Pron. Oss<sup>o</sup>. Il S<sup>r</sup> Giovanni Miltoni, Londra.*

XXXVI. LEO *ab* AIZEMA to MILTON.

- S. P. Partim quia Morus in suo scripto quædam tibi aspersit *ex libro tuo* de Divortijs, Anglico, Vir Nob. et cl. partim quia multi curiosé quæsiverunt de argumentis quibus opinionem
- 25 adstruis tuam; dedi cuidam tractatum illum totum in *Hollan-*

learned gentleman, Giovanni Doni of Florence. This is a most honorable office, and has always been held by gentlemen and writers of this country, as by Politian, the two Vettori, and the two Adriani, luminaries in the world of letters. Last  
5 week on the death of the Most Serene Prince Lorenzo of Tuscany, uncle of the reigning Grand Duke, I made the funeral oration; when it is published it shall be my care to send you a copy. I have on hand several works which I will continue, and I will do with them what my learned and kind friends will  
10 deem best, please God. Valerio Chimentelli has been appointed by his Highness to be Professor of Greek Literature at Pisa, and there are great expectations of his worth. Messrs. Frescobaldi, Coltellini, Francini, Galilei, and many others unite in sending you affectionate salutations; and I as more  
15 obliged to you than any other, also record my desire to live ever to obey your commands ——— Yours,

[Carlo Dati.]

Florence, December 4, 1648.

*To the most illustrious and honored Mr. John Milton, London.*

XXXVI. LEO VAN AIZEMA to MILTON.

20 Greeting. Partly, noble and famous Sir, because Morus has in his work somewhat derided your English book on divorce; partly because many ask me curiously about the arguments by which you support your opinion, I have arranged to have the whole pamphlet translated into the Dutch tongue, being  
25 minded to have it published at once. I do not know, however,



*dicum sermonem* vertendum: cum desiderio ut quantocius imprimatur. Nescius autem, an quicquam in eo correctum vel additum velis: non potui quin hoc verbo te admoneam et de animo tuo ut me certiore facias, rogem. Vale et salve a

Tui observantiss.

Hagæ die 29 Jan. 55.

L. Aizema.

*Nob. Cl. Viro Dno. Joh. Miltono*

*consilio status a secretis*

*Londini.*

### XXXVII. HEIMBACH to MILTON.

10 Viro supra laudem Jano *Miltonio* suo salut: p.D.

*Petrus Heimbachius.*

Si citius constitisset nobis, te, Jane Miltoni, vir omni ex parte summe, mortalium coetui interesse adhuc, citius quoque Londinum reversus, nostrum amicissimum animum testatus  
 15 fuissem; Ferebant enim te nostris nugis exemptum patrio coelo redonatum esse, terrisque sublimiorem, quævis nostra despicere; ad hoc Regnum ut non datur aditus, sic calamum meum satis ad tui similes scripturientem hactenus cohibere ac reprimere debui; Ego certè, qui non tam virtutes ipsas quam virtu-  
 20 tum diversarum Conjugium in te admirabar, cum alia multa in te suspicio, tum quod gravitatis, quam præ se fert dignissima viro facies, cum serenissima humanitate, charitatis cum prudentia, pietatis cum politicâ, politica cum immensâ eruditione, sed addo, generosi, nec minimè timidi spiritus etiam ubi Juni-

whether you wish to correct or supplement anything in it; I cannot refrain from offering you this suggestion and beg that you will let me know your feeling. Hail and salutation from your most respectful,

5

L. Aizema

The Hague, January 29, 1655.

*To Mr. John Milton, Secretary of the Council of State, London.*

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## XXXVII. HEIMBACH to MILTON.

Peter Heimbach to John Milton, a man above praise, sends his heartiest greeting.

- 10 If I had known sooner that you, John Milton, in every respect preeminent, were still of the company of mortals, I should long since have returned to London and given evidence of my most friendly spirit. For they told us that you, released from our petty concerns, had been restored to your heavenly  
15 Fatherland, and high above the Earth, looked down on our trivial affairs. As there is no postroad to that Kingdom, I had thus far to check and restrain my pen, eager enough to write to men like you. Certainly I, who admired in you less individual virtues than the union of differing virtues, not only revere in  
20 you many other things but also the fact that you have achieved a blending, altogether rare and beyond the desert of this age, of gravity (which your countenance right worthy of a hero displays) with the most unruffled courtesy, of charity with sound judgment, of piety with statesmanship, statesmanship  
25 with boundless learning, and I add, of a highminded and by

ores animos laberentur, cum sollicitò pacis amore raram omninò  
et præter fas seculi mixturam feceris. Hic Deum veneror, tibi  
ut omnia ex voto et animi sententia rursum eveniant: sed uno  
excepto: Nam tu quidem saturus annis, plenus honoribus, iis  
5 etiam quos recusasti, nihil ultra exoptas, quam quietis præ-  
mium, ac justitiæ Coronam tuumque idem, quod olim Simeonis  
videtur votum: Dimitte, Domine, nunc servum tuum in pace;  
Ast nostrum longè ad hoc alienissimum est nempe D:I:O:M:  
te diutissimè interesse rebus nostris literariis, ac præesse patia-  
10 tur. Sic vale, doctissime Miltoni longum et feliciter cum omni-  
bus tuis plurimum à nobis salutatus. Dabam postridie Nonas  
Junii vulgaris æræ Christianæ MDCLXVI Clivopoli, ubi Elec-  
torali solio vivimus à Consiliis. Iterum vale et nos quod facis  
adamare persevera, ac quamprimùm jucundissimo omnium  
15 responso bea.

*Nobilissimo et Celeberrimo Viro*

*Jano Miltonio Anglo*

*Per amicum.                      Londinum.*

---

no means timid spirit (even where younger men have faltered) with a solicitous love of peace. So I pray God that all things may turn out again according to your prayer, and your heart's desire; one thing excepted! For, you, I grant, sated with years  
5 and full of honors (even of those you have refused) desire nothing beyond the reward of quiet, and the crown of justice, and that same thing for yourself which was once the desire of Simeon, "Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace". But my prayer, quite different from this, is that God may still long  
10 permit you to be active and preeminent in our world of letters. In this wise, most learned Milton, may you fare long and happily, with cordial greetings from us to you and yours. I write this, June 6, 1666, of the common Christian era, at Cleves, where we live in the realm of the Electorate, a mem-  
15 ber of the Council. Again farewell, and continue to love us as much as you now do; and, as soon as possible, make us happy with the most welcome of all replies!

*To the most noble and famous Englishman, John Milton, London. By [courtesy of] a friend.*

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# English Correspondence of JOHN MILTON

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XXXVIII. MILTON, "LETTER *to* A FRIEND."

*First Draft.*

Sir, (besides that in sundry respects I must acknowledge me to proffit by you when ever we meet), you are often to me and were yesterday especially as a good watch man to admonish that the howres of the night passe on (for so I call my life as  
5 yet obscure & unserviceable to mankind) & that the day is at hand wherein Christ commands all to labour while there is light. which because I am persuaded you doe to no other purpose then out of a true desire that god should be honour'd in every one, I am ever readie, you know, when occasion is, to  
10 give you account, as I ought though unaskt, of my tardie moving according to the præcept of my conscience, which I firmly trust is not without god. yet now I will not streine for any set apologie, but only referre my selfe to what my mynd shall have at any tyme to declare her selfe at her best  
15 ease. yet if you thinke, as you said, that too much love of learning is in fault, & that I have given up my selfe to dreame away my yeares in the armes of studious retirement, like Endymion with the Moone on Latmus hill, yet consider that if it were no more but this to overcome this, there is on the

other side both ill more bewitchfull, to entice away, & naturall cares more swaying & good more availeable, to withdraw to that which you wish me as first all the fond hopes which forward youth & vanitie are fledged with, none of which can  
5 sort with this Pluto's helmet, as Homer calls it, of obscurity & wou'd soone cause me to throw it off if there were nothing else in't but an affected & fruitlesse curiosity of knowing, and then a naturall desire of honour & repute, which I thinke posseses the brest of every scholar as well of him that shall  
10 as of him that never shall obtaine it (if this be altogether bad) which would quickly over sway this flegme & melancholy of bashfullnesse, or that other humor, & prævaile with me to præferre a life that had at least some credit in it, some place given it before a manner of living much disregarded, & dis-  
15 countenanc't, there is besides this, as all well know, about this tyme of a mans life a strong inclination, be it good or no, to build up a house & family of his owne in the best manner he may, to which nothing is more helpfull then the early entring into some credible employment, & nothing more crosse then  
20 my way, which my wasting youth would præsently bethinke her of & kill one love with another, if that were all; but what delight or what peculiar conceit, may you in charitie thinke, could hold out against the long knowledge of a contrarie command from above, & the terrible seasure of him that hid  
25 his talent, therefore commit grace to grace or nature to nature, there will be found on the other way more obvious temptations to bad as gaine, præferment ambition more winning præsentments of good, & more prone affections of nature to encline

& dispose not counting outward causes as expectations & murmurs of freinds scandals taken & such like, then the bare love of notions could resist, so that if it be that which you suppose, it had by this bin round about begirt, & overmaster'd  
 5 whether it had proceeded from vertue, vice, or nature in me, yet that you may see that I am somtyme suspicious of my selfe, & doe take notice of a certaine belatednesse in me, I am the bolder to send you some of my nightward thoughts some while since since they come in fitly made up in a Petrarchian stanza.

10      How soone hath Time the suttile theefe of Youth  
              stolne on his wing my three & twentieth yeere  
              my hasting days fly on with full careere  
              but my late spring no bud or blossome shew'th  
              Perhapps my semblance might deceive the truth  
 15               that I to manhood am arriv'd so neere  
              & inward ripenesse doth much lesse appeare  
              that some more tymely-happie spirits indu'th  
              Yet be it lesse or more, or soone or slow  
              it shall be still in strictest measure even  
 20               to that same lot however meane or high  
              toward which Tyme leads me, & the will of heaven  
              all is if I have grace to use it so  
              as ever in my great task-maisters eye

*Second Draft.*

Sir, besides that in sundry other respects I must acknowledge  
 25 me to proffit by you when ever wee meet, you are often to me, & were yesterday especially, as a good watch man to admonish

that the howres of the night passe on (for so I call my life as yet obscure, & unserviceable to mankind) & that the day with me is at hand wherein Christ commands all to labour while there is light. which because I am persuaded you doe to no other  
 5 purpose then out of a true desire that god should be honourd in every one; I therefore thinke my selfe bound though unask't, to give you account, as oft as occasion is, of this my tardie moving; according to the præcept of my conscience, which I firmly trust is not without god. yet now I will not  
 10 streine for any set apologic, but only referre my selfe to what my mynd shall have at any tyme to declare her selfe at her best ease. But if you thinke, as you said, that too much love of Learning is in fault, & that I have given up my selfe to dreame away my yeares in the armes of studious retirement  
 15 like Endymion with the Moone as the tale of Latmus goes, yet consider that if it were no more but the meere love of learning, whether it proceed from a principle bad, good, or naturall it could not have held out thus long against so strong opposition on the other side of every kind, for if it be bad why  
 20 should not all the fond hopes that forward Youth & Vanitie are fledge with together with Gaine, pride, & ambition call me forward more powerfully, then a poore regardlesse & unprofitable sin of curiosity should be able to withhold me, wherby a man cutts him selfe off from all action & becomes the most help-  
 25 lesse, pusilanimous & unweapon'd creature in the word, the most unfit & unable to doe that which all mortals most aspire to either to defend & be usefull to his freinds, or to offend his enemies. Or if it be to be thought an naturall pronenesse there



is against that a much more potent inclination & inbred which about this tyme of a mans life sollicit most, the desire of house & family of his owne to which nothing is esteemed more helpfull then the early entring into credible employment, & 5 nothing more hindering then this affected solitarinesse and though this were enough yet there is to this another act if not of pure yet of refined nature no lesse available to dissuade prolonged obscurity, a desire of honour & repute & immortall fame seated in the brest of every true scholar which all make 10 hast to by the readiest ways of publishing & divulging conceived merits as well those that shall as those that never shall obtaine it, nature therfore would præsently worke the more prævalent way if there were nothing but this inferiour bent of her selfe to restraine her. Lastly if the Love of Learning as it is 15 be the persuit of something good, it would sooner follow the more excellent & supreme good knowne & præsentend and so be quickly diverted from the emptie & fantastick chase of shadows & notions to the solid good flowing from due & tymely obedience to that command in the gospel set out by 20 the terrible seasing of him that hid the talent. it is more probable therfore that not the endlesse delight of speculation but this very consideration of that great commandment does not presse forward as soone as may be to undergoe but keeps off with a sacred reverence, & religious advisement how best 25 to undergoe not taking thought of beeing late so it give advantage to be more fit, for those that were latest lost nothing when the maister of the vinyard came to give each one his hire. & heere I am come to a streame head copious enough to

disburden it selfe like Nilus at seven mouthes into an ocean,  
 but then I should also run into a reciprocall contradiction of  
 ebbing & flowing at once & doe that which I excuse my selfe  
 for not doing preach & not preach. yet that you may see that  
 5 I am something suspicious of my selfe, & doe take notice of  
 a certaine belatednesse in me I am the bolder to send you some  
 of my nightward thoughts some while since because they com  
 in not altogether unfitly, made up in a Petrarchian stanza  
 which I told you of

10 after the stanza

by this I beleeve you may well repent of having made mention  
 at all of this matter, for if I have not all this while won you to  
 this, I have certainly wearied you to it. this therfore alone may  
 be a sufficient reason for me to keepe me as I am least having  
 15 thus tired you singly, I should deale worse with a whole con-  
 gregation, & spoyle all the patience of a Parish. for I my selfe  
 doe not only see my owne tediousnesse but now grow offended  
 with it that has hinderd me thus long from comming to the  
 last & best period of my letter, & that which must now cheifely  
 20 worke my pardon that I am

Your true & unfained freind.

### XXXIX. LAWES to MILTON.

Sir

I have sent you with this a letter from my Lord warden  
 of the Cinque-portes under his hande & seale, which wilbe a  
 25 sufficient warrant; to Justify your goinge out of the Kings

Dominions if you intende to wryte your selfe you cannot have  
 a safer Convoy for both than from Suffolke House, but that  
 I leave to your owne Consideration & remaine  
 your faithfull freind & servant

5 [1638.]

Henry Lawes.

. . . *any waies Aprooved Mr John Milton hasten these.*

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XL. WOTTON *to* MILTON.

[*See Volume I, pages 476–477.*]

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XLI. MILTON *to* WHITLOCK.

My Lord.

By an order of the Councell, which I received this  
 morning, I am appointed to looke over the latin copy of the  
 10 Safeguard granted to the Count of Oldenburgh, and to bring  
 it to your Lordship and Mr. Neville to be perus'd. The Agent  
 himself was with me this morning and desir'd earnestly to see  
 the copy, which because it was a thing granted to him by the  
 Councell at his request, I thought it could be no tresspass to  
 15 lett him see, and it pleas'd him well enough when he had  
 read it; onely he desir'd that where the two marks be on the  
 margent of the English copy this clause might be inserted,  
 Together with his successours either in fee or his own proper  
 right, provided they act or designe nothing against the Com-  
 20 monwealth of England: and he alleges this reason, because his  
 Lord is very old, and desires as well to provide for his Posterity  
 as for himselfe and if he should chance to dye ere the Agent  
 should return home or soone after, that then all his paines here

and time spent, would prove to no purpose. If for this reason, which seems but just, this clause concerning his successours may be inserted, I believe it will content him, else not. Which I thought with the soonest to communicate to Your Lordship,  
 5 with the papers themselves, and the Latin made agreeable to the English, with the addition of some few words in the beginning, and in another place toward the end which I believe were left out by chance in the English, and so take leave.

Your Lordships faithfull servant

10 12<sup>mo</sup> Feb. 1651.

John Milton

*For the Right Honourable*

*the Lord Commissioner Whitlock*

*these with speed.*

XLII. SANDELANDS to MILTON.

Edenbrugh 15<sup>th</sup> Januarij 1652

15 Sir

I receaved yours dated the 3<sup>d</sup> of January: For which I doe returne you hearty thanks. Maior Gen<sup>ll</sup> Deane when I touke my leave of Him, desired mee to make my application in his absence, to Maior Gen<sup>ll</sup> Overton & Collonell Lilburne: But  
 20 such was my misfortune, that Maior Gen<sup>ll</sup> Overton within a day or two being necessitated to remove to the west of Scotland, I could not have an opportunity to expresse my self concerning the Scotts woods so freely as I intended. And dispairing of his returne, I resolved to have my recourse to  
 25 Collonell Lilburne, whom I found a very great favourer both

of my self and my designe: And because wordes oftentimes  
 evanishes into aire, I resolved to expresse my self to Him in  
 writting, which I did Januarij the 14<sup>th</sup> as appeares by these  
 enclosed.

5      Sir you may perceive by his Letter, that hee urges mee to an  
 impossibilitie, eyther to undertake the worke my self or to  
 procure one. My Lord Tullibarden who hath a 3<sup>d</sup> part of that  
 wood refuses, giving this reason, because noe privat man in  
 these times is able to carry on the worke, not having power to  
 10 command neyther the soldiery nor the Country to affourd  
 them that assistance which is requisite. The truth is no Scotts  
 man will undertake it, because it is reputed a disservice to the  
 King and Country. The best way to mee would seeme to bee  
 this, to engage eyther your East Country or Noreway mer-  
 15 chants, your Timber Masters, or els such Cittizens in London  
 as dealles in pitch and tarre; By this means you shall make a  
 sure bargaine though not so proffitable: For if the State will  
 sett men a worke them selves, they may make for every  
 hundreth pound a thousand.

20      If it please you but to consider the scope of my letter, you  
 shall finde that I doe demonstrate unto Coll:Lilburne, that  
 the State undertaking the worke them selves may have tarre,  
 abundance of tarre for nothing and timber which will not  
 only defray all charges but pay your garriasons in the High-  
 25 lands and North of Scotland.

Now Sir for my further encouragm<sup>t</sup> give mee leave to renew  
 my humble petition to you That you would procure to mee the  
 gift of that weatherbeaten scull of my Noble and truly hono<sup>ble</sup>

patron, And that it remaine noe longer a contemptuous obiect  
& ludibrium Presbyterorum Scotorum, who ar thee bassest  
of men.

I have noe newes, but that wee ar heere in peace and seeme  
5 very inclinable to peace, Onely Jac Presbyter (who is still a  
sworne enemy to Civill governm<sup>t</sup>) Jan. the first refused the  
Magistrats of Edenbrugh to have a voyce in the election of  
that sacred beast the ruling Elder, because forsooth they have  
taken the engagm<sup>t</sup> and submitted to the Commonwealth of  
10 England, forgetting that they had established a Scotts Com-  
monwealth these eight years. Thus I remaine your faithfull  
Servant

And: Sandelands.

*For his much honored Freind*

15 *John Milton Esquyre*

*At his house in Petite-France beyond Westminster  
London These.*

XLIII. MILTON *to* BRADSHAW.

My Lord,

But that it would be an interruption to the publick,  
20 wherein your studies are perpetually imployd, I should now  
& then venture to supply this my enforced absence with a line  
or two, though it were my onely busines, & that would be noe  
slight one, to make my due acknowledgments of your many  
favours; which I both doe at this time & ever shall; & have  
25 this farder which I thought my parte to let you know of, that  
there will be with you to morrow upon some occasion of busi-



XLIV. SANDELANDS *to* MILTON.

Edenbrugh 29. March 1653

Sir

If the losse of time and expense of money, could disharten mee to doe the States service, I had before this returned to my  
5 wife and children: But to evidence my reall affection to you, and my willingnesse to doe the States service I have patiently attended their Commands, and have neglected no opportunity to do them service, as appears by my former letters. Sir that  
10 great Polititian the Marquis of Argile hath sould the Commonwealth of England his Cannon, knowing very well how to suply his Castle with Cannones againe, having foure and fourty peece of brazen Cannon at his command, lying upon the coast of Kintyre, buried within the sea marke, and recoverable in eight and fourty houres time.

15 Sir I pray let mee know particularely what I may expect, For I have not credit to subsist one weke longer heere And I am  
Sir your most humble servant

And: Sandelandes.

*For His much honnoured freind*20 *John Milton Esquire. These.*XLV. ANDREW MARVELL *to* MILTON.

Honoured Sir

I did not satisfie my Selfe in the Account I gave You, of presenting your Book to my Lord, although it seemed to me that I writ to you all which the Messengers speedy Returne the



same Night from Eaton would permit me. And I perceive that  
 by Reason of that Hast I did not give you Satisfaction neither  
 concerning the Delivery of your Letter at the same Time. Be  
 pleased therefore to pardon me, and know, that I tendred  
 5 them both together. But my Lord read not the Letter while  
 I was with him. Which I attributed to our Dispatch, and some  
 other Businesse tending thereto, which I therefore wished ill  
 to, so farr as it hindred an Affaire much better and of greater  
 Importance: I mean that of reading your Letter. And to tell  
 10 you truly mine own Imagination, I thought that he would not  
 open it while I was there, because He might suspect that I  
 delivering it just upon my Departure might have brought in  
 it some second Proposition like to that which you had before  
 made to him by your Letter to my Advantage. However I  
 15 assure my self that He has since read it, and you, that He did  
 then witnesse all Respect to your person, and as much Satis-  
 faction concerning your Work as could be expected from so  
 cursory a Review and so sudden an Account as He could then  
 have of it from me. M<sup>r</sup> Oxenbridge at his Returne from Lon-  
 20 don will I know give you thanks for his Book, as I do with all  
 Acknowledgement and Humility for that you have sent me.  
 I shall now studie it even to the getting of it by Heart: esteem-  
 ing it according to my poor Judgement (which yet I wish it  
 were so right in all Things else) as the most compendious  
 25 Scale, for so much, to the Height of the Roman Eloquence.  
 When I consider how equally it turns and rises with so many  
 figures, it seems to me a Trajans Columnne in whose winding  
 Ascent we see imboss'd the severall Monuments of your

learned Victories: and Salmatius and Morus make up as great a Triumph as that of Decebalus, whom too for ought I know you shall have forced as Trajan the other, to make them selves away out of a just Desperation. I have an affectionate Curiosity  
5 to know what becomes of Colonell Overtons businesse. And am exceeding glad to thinke that Mr Skyner is got near you, the Happinesse which I at the same Time congratulate to him and envie. There being none who doth if I may so say more jealously honour you then

10

**Honoured Sir**

Your most Affectionate humble Servant,  
Andrew Marvell.

Eaton June 2<sup>d</sup> 1654

*For my most honoured Freund*

15

*John Milton Esquire, Secretarye*

*for the forrain affairs,*

*at his house in Petty France,*

*Westminster.*

XLVI. MOSES WALL *to* MILTON.

**Sir,**

20

I received Yours the Day after you wrote and do humbly thank you that you are pleased to honor me, with your Letters. I confess I have (even in my Privacy in the Country) oft had thoughts of you, and that with much Respect, for your Friendliness to Truth in your early Years and in bad Times. But I was

uncerten whether your Relation to the Court, (though I think a Commonwealth was more friendly to you than a Court) had not clouded your former Light, but your last Book resolved that Doubt. You complaine of the Nonprogresency of the  
 5 nation, and of its retrograde Motion of late, in Liberty and Spirituall Truths: it is much to be bewailed; but yet let us pity humane Frailty when those who made deep Protestations of their Zeal for our Liberty both Spirituall and civill, and made the fairest Offers to be assertors thereof, and whom we there-  
 10 upon trusted; when those being instated in power, shall betray the good Thing committed to them, and lead us back to Egypt, and by that Force which we gave them, to win us Liberty, hold us fast in Chains; what can poor People do! you know who they were that watched our Saviours Sepulchre to keep him  
 15 from rising. Besides whilst People are not free but straitned in Accomodations for Life, their Spirits will be dejected and servile; and conducing to that end there shold be an improving of our native commodities, as our Manufactures, our Fisherie, our Fens Forrests and Commons, & our Trade at Sea  
 20 the which wold give the body of the nation a comfortable Subsistence, and the breaking that cursed Yoak of Tythes wold much help therto. Also an other Thing I can not but mention, which is that the Norman Conquest and Tyranny is continued upon the Nation without any Thought of removing it; I mean  
 25 the Tenure of Lands by Coppy-hold, and holding for Life under a Lord (or rather Tyrant) of a Mannour; whereby People care not to improve their Land by Cost upon it, not knowing how soon themselves or theirs may be outed it, nor

what the House is in which they live for the same Reason;  
and they are far more enslaved to the Lord of the Manour,  
than the rest of the nation is to a King or supreme Magistrate!  
We have waited for Liberty, but it must be Gods Work and  
5 not Mans, who thinks it sweet to maintaine his Pride and  
worldly Interest, to the gratifying of the Flesh whatever be-  
comes of the pretious Liberty of Mankind, but let us not  
despond but do our Duty; God will carry on that blessed  
Work in despight of all opposites, and to their ruine if they  
10 persist therin.

Sir, my humble Request is, That you wold proceed and give  
us that other member of the Distribution mentioned in your  
Book; sc. that Hire doth greatly impede Truth and Liberty;  
it is like if you do you shall find Opposers; but remember that  
15 Saying *Beatius est pati quam frui* or in the Apostles Words,  
*Μαχαρίζομεν τὰς ὑπομένοντας*. I have sometimes thought (con-  
curring with your Assertion of that storied voice that shold  
speak from heaven,) when Ecclesiasticks were indowed with  
worldly preferments, *Hodie venenum infunditur in Ecclesiam*,  
20 for to use the Speech of Gen. 4 ult. according to the Sense  
which it hath in the Hebrew, Then began Men to corrupt the  
Worship of God. I shall tell you a Supposal of mine which is  
this, Mr Dury has bestowed about 30 years time in travell  
conference and writing to reconcile Calvinists and Lutherans,  
25 and that with little or no Success; But the shortest way were;  
take away ecclesiastical Dignities Preferments and Honours  
on both Sides and all wold soon be hushed; the Ecclesiasticks  
wold be quiet, and then the People wold come forth into Truth

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and Liberty. But I will not engage in this Quarrel yet I shall  
lay this Engagement upon my self to remaine

Your faithful Friend and Servant

M. Wall.

5 Causham May 26 1659.

CORRESPONDENCE OF MILTON  
AND MYLIUS

# Correspondence of Milton and Mylius, 1651—1652

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## XLVII. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Nobilissime & Clarissime Vir amicorum ocelle.

Adeoque tardum satis vinctum me esse fateor nec frigide ut iterum excusaveris volentem iam idem.

Binas iam à tua manu accepi, & nullas reddidi; Pœnam aut  
5 multam utramvis si expostulaveris, æquum postulas, & luam  
lubens, nisi tu me ipsum absolvi malueris; Quid rescriberem,  
qui

Tanta laborans in Charibdi

dubius & nescius hæsi, quo iure, vel qua iniuria hîc hæserim?

10 Dignus puer meliore flamma?

Nemo etenim fuit, qui nescio quo quæsito colore (spero me  
hæc impunè scribere) mecum hactenus loqui, qui monita &  
memorata hic illic, ultro citroque insinuata, verbo vel syllaba  
dignari voluerit & ita me tacitis curis, quæ tantò magis arro-  
15 dere solent, intimas etiam fibras, macerare in re iusta, &

# Correspondence of Milton and Mylius, 1651—1652

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## XLVII. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Most Noble and Distinguished Sir, jewel of friends

I am really fettered, and I say this warmly, that you may again excuse a man whose wishes have long been the same.

I have received two letters from your hand, and have sent  
5 none in reply. If you demand a penalty or if you choose a fine, your demand is reasonable, and I will gladly make atonement, unless you prefer to hold me absolved. What answer could I have sent, I who

struggling in so furious a Charybdis

10 was caught without being able to understand whether I was thus entangled rightly or wrongly, I

a lad worthy of a better flame?

For there has been no one who, upon some pretext or other (I hope I am writing this with impunity) has been willing thus  
15 far to talk with me, who has been willing to deem worthy of a word or a syllable suggestions and remarks made in the course of conversation; and so in a quest that is just and unfair to no one I have been forced to wear myself out with unspoken



nemini iniqua, coactus sum donec tandem ex ultimis tuis didicerim, abstinentiam hanc a Senatus-Consulto cautam esse, nemini peregrino aditum concedendum esse ex membris Parlamenti, vel Consilio status. Lex hæc promulgata etiam me  
 5 ligat, nec ego sub lege hac iam vivens, illex esse cupio; nec volo, quocirca meliora & molliora tempora fandi præstolabor et more meo mihi præsidia et subsidia despiciam. Cur etenim a morte ereptus temptem me non intactum? aut Penatibus alienis hospitem invisum & invitum obtrudam, cui humani-  
 10 tatis iura exercere, Edicto publico interdictum? Interim mi amice hæc tuis,

Depono tutis auribus

quod mea fastidia moræ ex parte hodiernus dies emollierit, quo mediante dexteritate, Dni. Flemmingii, mea desideria  
 15 coram Dominis Commisariis, quos æquis & attentis animis habui & vidi, ore tenus exponere, publicè recommendare, & protinus in scriptis exhibere, insimulque respondentem magnum Miltonium audire licuit. Resolutionem si dicti et promissi effectus, i.e. fides aderit (facileque evertitur inanibus promissis)  
 20 maturam expecto, & quidem avidè, ut solent amantes.

Queis centum puer artium

anxieties which usually so much the more gnaw at one's heart strings, until from your last letter I learned that this aloofness had been enjoined by an official decree, that to no stranger should access be granted by members of Parliament  
 5 or by the Council of State. The proclamation of this regulation binds me also; living now under it, I do not wish nor am I willing to be lawless; wherefore I shall wait for better and easier opportunities to speak, and in accordance with my custom I shall condemn safeguards and helps. For why should  
 10 I, snatched from the jaws of death, imperil my safety when I am not unscathed? Or why should I thrust upon the hospitality of strangers a guest disliked and reluctant, who by public proclamation has been forbidden to exercise the rights of humanity? Meanwhile, my friend,

15 I entrust to your safe ears

these reflections, because this day has somewhat alleviated my weariness over the delay. Through the tactful mediation of Mr. Flemming I have been privileged to explain my desires orally to the Lord Commissioners (who evidently gave me  
 20 their impartial attention), to give these desires an official backing, and to present them at once in a written form, and at the same time to listen to the reply of the great Milton. If what has been said and promised comes to pass, *i.e.*, if good faith be present, (and it is easily destroyed by empty promises), I shall expect the Resolution soon, and indeed eagerly,  
 25 after the fashion of lovers.

You, a lad of a hundred accomplishments, are able to untie,

diffibulare, fuerit ligulas: Sed quas non latebras invenit hoc  
seculum? Si manticam assumere linguæ, & lubricitati spem  
iuris imponere libuerit.

5                    At vulgus infidum, & meretrix retro,  
                    Periura cedit

Ut Venusinus ait, ego curæ securus, meliora ab optimis & cordatis spero; nec

Quid sit futurum cras volo quærere  
quippe  
10 Si figit adamantinos  
Summis verticibus, dira Necessitas  
Clavos, non animum metu  
Non mortis laqueis expediam caput

absit autem, ut istis me impediam quicquid sit; participem  
 15 Sortis utriusque te faciam, modo viam, & exitum negotii video  
 quod lentis maxillis hactenus tractari, expertus sum. Sed non  
 adeò sum stipes & stupidus, qui Ætnam laborum, hac rerum  
 & temporum scena, non intelligam & expendam? Sat citò,  
 modo sat benè et tuto.

20 **Nec tristes Hýadæ, nec rabies Noti**

it may be, hard knots. But what modes of evasion has not this age discovered, if it has a fancy to cloak the tongue and to give to slippery speech the hope of passing for the law?

5                   But the faithless crowd, the harlot  
                    forsworn, draw back

as the poet of Venusia says; while I carefree hope for better things from men that are noble and intelligent; nor

Do I wish to know what the morrow may bring,  
for

10           If dread Destiny drives her adamantine nails into my roof-tree,  
            I shall not free my mind from fear  
            nor my head from the noose of death.

I would fain not entangle myself in that noose, whatever  
15 may betide. I will make you a sharer in either lot, if only I see the road and the ending of my enterprise, which I have found by experience is thus far being handled in easy-going fashion. But I am not such a stupid blockhead that I cannot understand and evaluate an Aetna of labors, when we have  
20 the present stage-setting of the times and their events. It will come soon enough, if only it shall be done sufficiently well and safely. May

Neither the sullen Hyades nor the fury of the South wind

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reducem remorentur, et

Tristis hÿems glacie cursus non frænnet aquarum.

Deo, ut omnium, quæ supra nos, etiam hæc, cura curæ erit &  
cordi, & tu cum tuis; amicorum optatissime, cui æque, ac  
5 mihi, fata fausta, nunquam funesta, ex voluntate divina ani-  
mitus, apprecor & ex intimo corde me subscribo

deditissimum tuum

Londini ad lÿchnum

oculis certè labentibus & laborantibus

10 20 Oct. 1651.

Salveant gaudia domestica vestra ab amico ignoto,

Sed verè omnia amica cupiente & volente.

XLVIII. MYLIUS to MILTON.

Vir Nob: et Ampl.

Passis bracchiis ad limina ædium, circa tertiam, in adven-  
15 tum tanti Hospitis, quamvis frustramur eventu, advigilavi,  
interventio autem publicæ Curæ, ut audio, hoc gaudio, me  
privavit: Ego, quo tempore libuerit, et licuerit, benevolentiam  
vestri huius alloquii, meo affatu, desideratissime, citra strepi-

delay my safe return home and

May the dismal winter not curb with ice the  
flow of the waters.

God will make this the concern of His love, as He does all  
5 things that are above us, and you with your people, you, best  
of friends, for whom, as for myself, I pray with all my heart  
for a favorable and never evil destiny in accord with the divine  
will. From the depths of my heart I sign myself

Your most devoted

10 London, by candlelight  
with my eyes certainly in sore trouble

20 Oct. 1651.

Best wishes for domestic joys from a friend who, though  
a stranger, sincerely entertains for you every friendly desire.

#### XLVIII. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

15 Most noble and distinguished Sir:

With open arms I watched at the door of your house  
about three o'clock for the arrival of so eminent a host, dis-  
appointed though I was by the outcome. As I hear, the inter-  
vention of state business deprived me of this pleasure. I shall  
20 gladly look forward to the favor of a quiet conference (I  
miss you greatly) at whatever time it may suit your wishes  
and convenience, provided that a feasible hour may be fixed

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tum, modò hora commoda mihi dictetur lubens anticipabo,  
mansurus integro adfectu, et ubivis pro viribus in effectu

Vestræ Nob. devotus ex asse promptissimus

H. M.

- 5 Proiecta prioribus apposita, præviâ venia, vestræ censuræ submitto; Ita Patriæ Patri apta et optata erunt modò huic Reip: accepta: vestro auspicio curam hanc committo: Iterum et semper M.

[25 Oct. 1651.]

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XLIX. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

- 10 Virorum optime.

Invitus obstrepo tuis arduis, sed nosti quo amore tribus  
iam mensibus hic ex spe et desiderio morer et langueam

Ut nox longa quibus mentitur amica, diesque  
Longa videtur opus debentibus —

- 15 Sic mihi tarda fluunt et longa hæc tempora, quæ spem  
Consiliumque morantur etc:

Vello saltem memoriam mei et meæ expeditionis, quæ quidem  
ex voluntatè gravissimi Senatus vestri dependet, si enim vis  
flexanima suadæ tuæ stimulum addiderit, non dubito de celeri

for me. I shall remain in full affection and under all circumstances, to the best of my ability, in accomplishment

Your devoted and wholly ready  
for action

5

H. M.

The drafts that are appended to the earlier forms I submit, with your kind permission, for your criticism. In this way they will meet the needs and wishes of the Father of my Country, provided only they are acceptable to your Commonwealth.

10 I entrust the care of this matter to your auspices. Again and always, M.

October 25, 1651.

# XLIX. MYLIUS to MILTON.

Best of men,

Unwillingly do I disturb your labors, but you know  
15 with what love now for three months I have lingered and languished here out of hope and longing.

“As the night seems long to those whom a mistress  
deceives

And the day to those who must finish a task,  
20 So for me pass slowly and tediously these times  
That delay my hope and purpose etc.”

I stir at least your memory of me and my mission, which really depends on the good will of your most dignified Parliament, for if the winning power of your persuasiveness add a



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successu. Hoc summoperè saltem rogo, ut ante ultimam manum meæ expeditionis mihi intueri liceat proiecta diplomatum, sicubi fors ratione domini et patriæ quicquam occurreret, quod monere ex usu et re nostra, nec contra mentem Celebratissimi  
 5 Parlamenti foret possim. Patiere, ut prorsus confido, me in eo esse impetrabilem et tibi me vicissim

O et præsidium et dulce decus meum

nuncupabo,

Totum tuum.

[6 Nov. 1651.]

L. MILTON *to* MYLIUS.

10 Acceptis abs te, vir nobilissime, trinis jam literis omni humanitate, necnon benevolentia erga me summa refertissimis, quarum prioribus conventum me velle peramicè significabas, equidem et doleo sanè partim per occupationes meas, quibus in præsentia dstringor, partim per valetudinem non-  
 15 dum mihi licuisse virum eximium et hospitem mei tam cupientem convenire, et diutius certè non potui, quin si adesse non queam, per literas saltem tam præclaris in me studijs tuis aliqua ex parte responderem. Projecta illa, quæ vocas, ad me missa pro meo otio satis diligenter percurri, quorum ad exemplum

spur, I doubt not of early success. This at least I most earnestly beg, that before the final disposition of my mission, I be allowed to examine the drafts of the papers, in case anything present itself in the interest of my master and country, which  
 5 I might suggest to our practical advantage and not contrary to the will of the most honorable Parliament. Suffer me, as I am quite confident you will, to be favored in this, and I shall in turn,

“Oh, my protector and my dear delight”

10 call myself wholly your [Mylius.]

[November 6, 1651.]

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#### L. MILTON *to* MYLIUS.

Most noble Sir, I have received from you now three letters, filled with all courtesy and the greatest kind feeling toward myself, in the first two of which you signify in most friendly  
 15 fashion that you desire to meet me. I am indeed sorry that partly because of business with which I am at present much distracted, and partly because of ill-health, I have been unable as yet to receive a gentleman and visitor so full of regard for me, and certainly I cannot longer refrain from replying by  
 20 letter at least, if I may not do so in person, to your distinguished civility to me. The drafts of which you speak have been sent to me, and, so far as I could command the time, I have gone through them with some care. But, while in view of their tenor I cannot readily foresee what you are likely to secure for

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quid sis a nostris Comiti tuo impetraturus haud faciliè divi-  
narim, hoc possum dicere, nihil in hoc negotio prætermissum  
a te esse, quod appositè ad persuadendum dici potuerit. Et  
spero equidem responsum tibi, ex sententia, brevi datum iri;  
5 nam quibus commissa ea res est, id agere scio. Projecta interim  
illa perlecta, ut dixi, ad te remitto, meaque omnia officia vel  
hìc vel aliàs, quanta possum fide et observantia tibi defero  
Tui studiosissimus atque Observantissimus,

10 Lond: 7. Nov: 1651

Johannes Miltonius

LI. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Vir Nob: et Amplissime

Manum et ex ea mentem, tuam ad pectus appressi, quod  
amore et candore erga te exuberantissimum tibi dudum obliga-  
tum, denuo hac dextra consigno. Humanitas tua et inclinatio,  
15 ut spero, in maturandis et promovendis meis desideriiis porro  
non deerit, nec exigua hæc optimæ apud externos famæ tuæ pars  
erit, si etiam exteris frui tua comitate et benevolentia patieris,  
qua nisi abutar, remitto mea proiecta, futuræ expeditioni si  
placuerit, reservanda, et me nuncupo Vestræ Nob.

20 [7 Nov. 1651.]

ex asse Tuum.

your Count from our people, I can say this, that you have overlooked nothing in this matter which might pertinently have been said to gain your end. And I hope that a reply in harmony with your desire will shortly be given to you. For I  
 5 know the men to whom this affair has been referred have this in view. Meanwhile the drafts, read through as I say, I return to you, and I place at your disposal all my good offices in this and any other matter, with all possible faith and respect, Your most zealous and attached,

John Milton.

10 London, November 7, 1651.

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# LI. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Most noble and honorable Sir,

I have pressed your hand, and therewith your soul, to my heart, which, overflowing with sincere love for you and now long bound to you, I give you again with this handclasp. Your  
 15 humanity and friendly spirit, as I hope, in speeding and furthering my designs will not hereafter fail me, nor will this part of your good reputation in foreign lands be small, if you allow foreigners too to share your affability and good will — if I am not abusing them, I send back my drafts to be  
 20 reserved for future furtherance at your good pleasure. And I call myself wholly your

[Mylius.]

[November 7, 1651.]

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LII. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Ocelle virorum sydus amicorum

Maneo et subinde maneo, sed parum promoveo, adeoque  
illud breve in tuis heu, ad me datis utimur totidem septimanis  
et ulterius quot literas continet extantum quodammodo lon-  
5 gum mihi videtur; Nisi tu, mearum

Grande decus columenque rerum

mi Miltoni, et moveris, causa fixa sine motu manebit nec pro-  
movebitur; Idcirco ut moneas et sine loco et tempore moveas,  
ex animo obsecro, ego vicissim ad manes manebo, tuus in  
10 merito\* tuo totus

H. M.

cum vetuit amplexu matutino spe et expectatione languidus  
17. Xb: 1651.

[*MS Version of Epistolæ Familiares 11*]

LIIa. MILTON *to* MYLIUS.

Ad literas tuas, nobilissime Hermanne, xvii xbris ad me  
15 datas antequam respondeam, ne me silentij tam diutini reum  
fortassis apud te peragas, primùm omnium oportet exponam,  
cur non responderim prius. Primum igitur, ne nescias, moram  
attulit, quæ perpetua jam ferè adversatrix mihi est, adversa  
valetudo; deinde valetudinis causâ necessaria quædam et  
20 subita in ædes alias migratio, quam eo die forte inceperam,

LII. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Jewel of men, star of friends, I wait and continue to wait, but make little progress; and so that which seems a short time among your people (I am using the weeks allowed me, weeks as many, and more, as my [proposed] extension [of  
 5 my document] contains letters) now seems to me quite long. Unless you, my dear Milton, distinguished ornament and support of my affairs, shall also take action, my cause will remain fixed and motionless, and no progress will be made. Therefore from the depths of my heart, I beseech you to make  
 10 suggestions and to take steps, regardless of place and time. I in return will remain unto death wholly your

H. M.

Since I am debarred from the morning embrace, in hope and expectation weary.

15 17 Dec. 1651.

LIIa. MILTON *to* MYLIUS,

*Agent for the Count of Oldenburg*

Before I reply, most noble Hermann, to your letter to me of the 17th of December, I must first of all, lest you should perchance consider me the person responsible for so long a silence, explain why I did not reply sooner. Understand then  
 20 that a first cause of delay was poor health, a thing that is now almost a perpetual enemy of mine; next, on account of my health, there was a sudden and unavoidable removal to an-

quo tuæ ad me literæ perferebantur: Postremò certè pudor,  
 non habuisse me quicquam de tuo negotio quod gratum fore  
 tibi judicabam. Nam cum postridiè in Dominum Frostium  
 casu incidissem, ex eoque diligenter quærerem, ecquod tibi  
 5 responsum etiamnum decerneretur (ipse enim a Concilio  
 valetudinarius sæpè aberam) respondit, et commotior quidem,  
 nihil dum decerni, séque in expedienda re ista nihil proficere.  
 Satiùs itaque duxi ad tempus silere, quàm id quod molestum  
 tibi sciebam fore, extemplò scribere, donec quod ipse vellem,  
 10 túque tantopere expetebas libentissimè possem scribere: quod  
 et hodie, uti spero, perfeci: nam cum in Concilio D<sup>num</sup> Whit-  
 lochium Præsidem de tuo negotio semel atque iterum com-  
 monefecissem, statim ille retulit: adeóque in crastinum diem  
 de responso quamprimùm tibi dando statuta deliberatio est;  
 15 Eámque brevem admodum ausim dicere futuram, nisi tu istam  
 brevem vocolam quasi ad calculos accurate nimium exegisses.  
 Hac de re si primus ipse, quod conabar, certiore te facerem,  
 et tibi jucundissimum, et mei in te studij indicium quodcun-  
 que existimabam.

20                   Tuarum rerum, tuique honoris Studiosissimus  
 Dat. Parva Francia   Joannes Miltonius

Westmonasterij. 2 Jan: 1652.

other house, and I had begun the same, as it chanced, on the very day on which your letter was brought me; finally, I was, in truth, ashamed at then having nothing to report on your business that I thought would be agreeable to you. For, when,  
 5 the day after, I met Mr. Frost accidentally, and carefully enquired of him whether any answer was yet under resolution for you (for, in my invalid state, I was often myself absent from the Council), he told me, and with some concern, that nothing was yet being formulated, and that he was having no  
 10 success in his efforts to expedite the affair. I thought it better, therefore, to be silent for a time than to write at once what I knew would be annoying to you, and this in the expectation of afterwards being able to write, with full satisfaction, what I wanted to write and *you* so much desired. To-day, as I hope,  
 15 I have brought things to a conclusion; for, after I had in the Council once or twice reminded the President of your business, he reported it immediately, and with such effect that to-morrow is appointed for the consideration of an answer to be given to you as speedily as possible. And that consideration  
 20 I venture to say will be very brief, unless you insist upon defining that word *brief* too precisely, as if in arithmetic. I thought that, if I were the first, as was my purpose, to give you this information, you would be greatly pleased and it would also be a sign of my regard for you. Most zealous for your affairs  
 25 and honor,

John Milton.

Petty France, Westminster, January 2, 1652.



LIII. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.*First Draft.*

Dulce decus meum, mi Miltoni.

Præmonitum Pragmaticum præcipiter proximo stylo  
insultanter remitto: Nihil ad causam, nec rhombum tangit:  
Forum in quo se exercet Lanista, impudentior ludus est, et  
5 videtur canino studio delectari. Quod Hecuba quæritur, Re-  
gina olim, nunc secius

Exul deserta, afflictissima hominum

hic Briantis filius. Sed quid in eum peccavit aut quem inter-  
fecit ex suis Miltonius? quis eum cum reti et falce Mirmillonem  
10 agere coegit? Sed ploramus acuti cum vesperilionibus in ipso  
meridie? Caligant, et aures adeo delicatæ sunt, ut nullibi ferè  
tutum sit vera loqui. Retiarius enim ille in quo à multis desilit  
tam velox infelix satis, ut equus à iugo

—— nam solos credit habendos

15       Esse deos quos ipse colit ——

Quod Lacon ad Lusciniam, quidni ad ipsum? Vox et præterea  
nihil; Ergo

Men' moveat cimex Pantilius, aut cruciet quod  
Vellicet absentem Demetrius.

20       Bachæ Bachanti si velis adversarier  
Ex insana insaniorem facis, feriet sæpiùs.

Tu salveas a

M.





LIII. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.*First Draft.*

My joy and pride, my Milton,

The "Pragmatic" pamphlet I return immediately with scorn at the first chance. It is beside the point, nor hits the mark.

The forum in which the bully exercises is a very saucy school,  
 5 and he seems to delight in doglike zeal. This son of Brias makes the same complaint as Hecuba, once queen, now changed "an exile deserted, most afflicted of men." But what wrong has he done him, or whom of his friends has Milton slain? Who made him pursue a Myrmillo with net and dagger. But do we  
 10 lament shrilly with bats at high noon? They are blinded, and ears are so keen, it is safe almost nowhere to speak the truth. For this netman is unhappy enough in that he springs away from many [blows] as fast "as a horse from the yoke."

For he thinks those alone to be gods

15 Whom he himself worships.

What the Spartan said to the nightingale, why not to him?

"A voice and nothing more." Therefore

Should the bug Pantilius disturb me

Or need I smart when Demetrius wounds me absent?

20 —If you wish to oppose a revelling Bacchante,

From mad you'll make her furious, she'll strike more often.

Greetings to you from

M[ylius].

*Second Draft.*

Dulce decus Miltoni.

Miltiadis et Miltoni trophæa sunt Dissimilia\*, qui\* gloriosis inimicis inclarescere, et per ruinas alienæ existimationis ad famam grassari amicorum, et quem remitto, qui in ludo impudentis impendiis se exercet. Quod Hecuba (Regina olim nunc secius) idem hic Briantis filius queritur. Sed quod in eum peccavit, aut quem ex suis interfecit Miltonius? Quis eum reti et falce Mirmillonem agere coegit. Quod Lacon ad Lusciniam quid non ad ipsos Vox et præterea nihil, Ergo

10           Men' moveat cimex Pantilius, aut cruciet quod  
              Vellicet absentem Demetrius

Manus inquinatas habeat necessus est, qui cum tam vili et infami luto ludere instituit nec, infame genus Umbonum officere possunt luminibus gladii.

15       Tu salveas meæ expeditionis memor, quam Augusti Consilii Censuram et Parlamenti approbationem superasse et vim sub malleo et manu Amanuensis sudare; spero, quam si verbo dixeris et dederis reddam tibi totus

Tuissimus

20 [3 Jan. 1652.]

M.

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[\*Note: the correct reading in lines 2 and 3, "dissimilia, per gloriosos inimicos" was found upon re-examination of the facsimile, after the sheets of this volume were printed. This agrees with the translation as tentatively given.]

*Second Draft.*

Milton, my "dear delight",

[The trophies of Milton and Miltiadis, who grow famous by boastful enemies and advance to fame through the ruins of unfriendly estimate, differ\* from those of him], whom I return, who impudently shows off for cash. What Hecuba (once a queen, now otherwise) complained, so does this son of Brias.  
 5 But what wrong has he done him, or whom of his friends has Milton slain? Who made him pursue a Myrmillo with net and dagger? What the Spartan, to the Nightingale, why not to  
 10 these fellows? "A voice and nothing more." Therefore

Should the bug Pantilius disturb me

Or need I smart when Demetrius wounds me absent?

He must have dirty hands, who sets out to play with such vile and wretched mud, nor can swords (a wretched kind of  
 15 shields) ward off light.

May you enjoy health, mindful of my document, which I hope has come through the criticism of the August Council, and the approval of Parliament; and now suffers violence beneath the hand and mallet of the transcriber. If you will speak  
 20 briefly of it, and give it to me, I will return it, being wholly and superlatively yours

M.

[3 Jan. 1652.]

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LIV. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Flos et ocelle virorum

Prævio amplexu matutino memor hesterni promissi  
 amanuensem ad impetrandum meæ expeditionis proiecta  
 mitto. Lecta remittam, et censuræ vestræ denuo submittam  
 5 veluti me claritati vestræ sine fuco et felle

totum

[8 Jan. 1652.]

H. Mylium

LV. MILTON *to* MYLIUS.

Concinnatam, ut potui, Salvamguardiam hanc, Vir Claris-  
 sime, tuis plærumque verbis usus perlegendam tibi mitto.  
 10 Quædam inserere necesse habui; alia feci contractioniora, proli-  
 xiozem vix credo Concilium velle, succinctiorem non potui,  
 quandoquidem per omnia tibi satisfactum esse cupio. Exem-  
 plar tibi ipsum mitto, quod hodie vesperi in Concilio ostensurus  
 sum, nisi itaque ante horam secundam postmeridianam mihi  
 15 remittatur, vereor ut possim hodie effectam rem dare.

Tuæ Claritatis Studiosissimus

Jan: 8. 1651.

Johannes Miltonius

LIV. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Flower and jewel of men—

Our early morning meeting showing the way, mindful of yesterday's promise, I am sending a clerk to get the drafts of my mission. When read I'll return them and again submit  
 5 them to your criticism, even as I submit myself to your high distinction; without guile or gall, wholly yours, [Mylius.]

January 8, 1651/2.

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LV. MILTON *to* MYLIUS.

Most noble sir, this safeguard, suitably phrased to the best of my ability (for I used for the most part your own words)  
 10 I send you to be read over. Some points I found it necessary to insert, others I abbreviated; I hardly think the Council wishes it to be more detailed; more succinct I could not make it, since in all things I wish it to be satisfactory to you. I send you the identical copy which I am to show this evening at the meeting  
 15 of the Council; so unless it be sent back to me by the second hour this afternoon, I fear I may not carry the matter through today. Most zealous for your fame,                      John Milton.

January 8, 1651/2.



LVI. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Nobilissime Milioni

Compendiaria via ad gloriam incedis, qui talis es, qualis vis haberi et videri, qui talem se simulat nec est, peior est eo, qui falsi falsum mentitumque inquit Philosophus libro 9 Ethicorum sed tu nec fingis, sed probas te amicum, et dicta tua facta experior. Perlegi proiectum, et illa quæ adieci inseri et quæ interlineari tractu notavi, omitti quæso, cætera limæ et linæ tuæ denuò expedienda relinquo. Rescriptum ad Legatos aliosque publicos Reip: Ministros extra Remp: constitutos et  
 10 in futurum constituendos penes Augustam Senatum Status monebis, et pro dexteritate promovebis, tanto maior domini mei obligatio, et meus in te amor, quo te amplexatur

[9 Jan. 1652.]

Tuus M.

LVII. MILTON *to* MYLIUS.

15 Heri aderam pro more in Concilio, Vir clarissime, cum chartis vestris; cumque nactus occasionem Domino Præsidi rem repræsentassem, is statim de ijs utraque linguâ legendis ad Concilium retulit, nihilque videbatur non concedendum,

LVI. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Most noble Milton,

You tread the short road to fame; you who are really such as you wish to be held and seem; he who pretends to be such a man, and is not, is worse than he (as the Philosopher  
 5 says in Book 9 of the Ethics) who [openly displays] the false and lying aspects of falsity; you do not counterfeit, but prove yourself a friend, and I have found your words deeds. I have read the draft and I request the insertion of what I have added and the omission of what I have underlined; the rest I leave  
 10 to your file and line to be again furthered. The address to Ambassadors and other public officials of the commonwealth outside its borders, both those already appointed, and those to be appointed hereafter by the authority of the august Council of State, you will urge and use your skill in securing  
 15 its adoption. So much the greater is the debt of my master and my love for thee, with which embraces thee thy

Mylius.

[January 9, 1652.]

LVII. MILTON *to* MYLIUS.

Most noble sir, yesterday I attended the meeting of the  
 20 Council according to my wont, with your documents; and when, finding opportunity I explained the matter to the President, he at once laid before the council the reading of them in both languages; and nothing seemed likely to be

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si Bremensibus sociis nostris et amicis duntaxat caveretur, in quos moliri aliquid Dominum Comitem nonnulli, nescio qua de causa, visi sunt suspicari. Res itaque certis ex Concilio commissa est, qui Concilium de eo certius faciant; horum ex  
 5 numero sunt qui Domino Comiti admodum favent, præsertim Dominus Chalonerus et Nevillus. Hos si, ut soles, nonnunquam monueris, puto rem intra biduum confectum iri.

Tuis rationibus addictissimus

*Parva Francia Westmonasterij*

Joannes Miltonius

10 20<sup>mo</sup> Januarij 1651.

## LVIII. MYLIUS to MILTON.

Vir Nobilissime et Conspicue.

Pelagus sum inquietum et nescio, quæ Syrtes aut quinam scopuli me occupare pergant in hac mea infausta et infesta negotiatione, qua præter mentem et intentionem meam,  
 15 molestiam Proceribus Consilii et fastidium generare videor. Causam et candorem domini Comitis ex opinione et coniecturis non ex veritate et bonitate sua plerosque ponderare, adeoque hæc hactenus irrita necti mones, usque me planè immorari et macerari, verè doleo. Controversia cum Bremanis imperium

denied, provided care be taken to guard the interests of our friends the people of Bremen, against whom some, I know not why, seem to suspect my Lord Count of plotting. And so the affair was referred to certain members of the Council, 5 with instructions to make a report to the Council upon it. Of their number are some who favor the Count decidedly, especially Mr. Challoner and Neville. If, as you are wont, you somewhat premonish them, I think the business will be finished within two days. Most favorable to your plans,

10 John Milton.

Petty France, Westminster,  
January 20, 1651/2.

#### LVIII. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Most Noble and Distinguished Sir:

I am a restless sea and I know not what quicksands or 15 what reefs are making ready to seize upon me in this unfortunate and perilous mission of mine in which, quite contrary to my thoughts and intentions, I seem to engender annoyance and disdain in the high officials of your Council. The cause and sincerity of the Count, my Master, are, you tell me, ap- 20 praised by most people on the basis of opinion and supposition, not upon the basis of facts and their own good nature, and so, thus far, these matters meet with no result; I am sore distressed that the passage of time means simply delay and misery. The dispute with the citizens of Bremen touches the

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Romanum tangit, non hanc Rempublicam, ab illo dudum decisa, et si quæ restant decidenda. Nec mea quæ impræsentiarum desidero desideria hoc desiderant, ut Parliamentum se immisceat assumptis forensibus rebus ad se non pertinentibus.

- 5 Summæ observantiæ candoris germani et amicitiae infucatæ symbola in gremium huius Nobilissimæ Reipublicæ Dominus meus effudit et nihil nisi humanitatem et benevolentiam recipam quæsivit, tanto autem temporis tractu non obtinuit, nec ego nisi cum Ixione illo in fabulis pro Junone nubem. Scio  
10 quod generosa pectora non trahi sed duci velint, ego autem ductu alio non usus sum, quam ingenui filo styli quo erubescere non soles, perducere tamen in mei expeditionem eo non potui, nisi vestra accesserit suada

Capienda rebus in malis præceps via est.

- 15 Ut cum Poeta loquar

et retrorsum

Vela dare, atque iterare cursus

Cogor relictos

- Ita stat sententia, nisi alia Augusti Consilii Status fuerit, quæ  
20 qualiscumque fuerit, etiam mea erit, cui me submittam et

Roman Empire, not your Commonwealth; by that Empire decisions were made a short time ago and by it the remaining decisions must still be made. The desires which I have at the present moment do not include this, that Parliament should  
 5 become involved by handling legal matters that do not concern it. My Master has poured into the lap of your noble Commonwealth tokens of utmost courtesy, perfect sincerity and undisguised friendship, and has sought nothing but reciprocal kindness and goodwill. This, despite the lapse of time,  
 10 he has not obtained; neither have I, except in company with Ixion in the myth, a cloud instead of Juno. I know that generous souls do not wish to be dragged but rather to be led; and I have used no other kind of guidance than the thread of sincere expression (at which you are not wont to blush), but  
 15 nevertheless, I have been unable by this means to further my mission. Unless your persuasiveness shall second my efforts

In untoward circumstances a precarious path must  
 be taken

To speak with the Poet,

20 I am compelled to spread my sails in the opposite direction  
 And to traverse again courses that I had abandoned.

This is my attitude unless that of your august Council of State shall be different; but that attitude, whatever it may prove to be, shall be mine also; to it, and to yours, I shall  
 25 submit myself and therein rest content. If I shall not be able

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acquiescam et vestræ, quam demereri potero non in effectu,  
adfectu modò volo, quo manebo Huius dum vitæ Lachesis sua  
fila movebit

Vester ex asse

5 In postscripto

H. M.

Curato, mi Miltoni, cum prudentibus et cordatis hæc com-  
muniter, quibus Domini mei cura curæ et cordi; ut tandem  
meam dimissionem, benigna permissione impetrem; vicissim  
habebis tuo pretio emptum, ad quævis officia amica et possi-  
10 bilia proum et paratum qui te absentem amplectitur matutina  
salute  
tuus Mylius

Nobilissimo illi pari, dominis Challoner et Neville hanc cau-  
sam meam denuò literis recommendavi.

[21 Jan. 1652.]

LIX. MILTON *to* MYLIUS.

15 Quod heri pollicitus tibi sum, Vir Nobilissime, id seriò egi:  
cum singulis de tuo negotio locutus sum, quibus id commissum  
esse noram; plerique mihi videbantur non satis advertisse  
potiùs, quàm noluisse concedere quod petis, nam et concessisse  
se putabant in illo scripto quicquid volebas. Verum ut res in  
20 concilio heri rursus ageretur, efficere non potui, neque quo

to win to this in the outcome, I wish at least to do so in feeling, and in this I shall remain as long as Lachesis shall move the threads of this life of mine.

Wholly yours,

5

H. M.

Postscript:

Consider, my dear Milton, these matters with those wise and intelligent persons who have at heart the well being of my Master, in order that with their kind permission I may at  
10 length secure my dismissal. You shall have, in turn, purchased at your own price a man inclined and ready for every possible friendly service who embraces you, though absent, with a morning salutation.

Your Mylius

15 I have again by letter commended this cause of mine to that noble pair, Messrs Challoner and Neville.

January 21, 1652.

# LIX. MILTON *to* MYLIUS.

Most noble sir, what I promised you yesterday, I fulfilled punctiliously; I spoke about your business with the individuals  
20 to whom I knew it had been referred. Most of them seemed to me not to have given it sufficient attention, rather than to have been unwilling to grant you what you ask, for they also thought that they had granted you in that document just what you wished. But I was not able to secure another discussion of  
25 the subject yesterday in the Council, nor do I feel sure on what



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die id efficiam certò scio. Reliquum est itaque, ut ipse tibi ne desis, deque ista dilatione ad Concilium scribas; ego enim, quod in me situm est, nihil prætermisi

tui honoris, tuarumque rationum studiosissimus

5 10<sup>mo</sup> Februarij 1651.

Joannes Miltonius

LX. MYLIUS to MILTON.

Nobilissime Milioni.

Mentem tuam amicam ex manu intellexi, et gratias ago, re ipsa eas ante abitum contestaturus; Monitorium post meridiem denuò Augusto Consilio Status exhibebo; si adfueris, mi Milioni, assistas porro tuo consilio, eos qui intentionem domini mei hactenus non intellexerunt, plenius informes, ut tandem expediri et æquo animo hinc migrare queam. Si poterit diploma vel Rescriptum desideratum saltem in apposita formalitate,  
15 una cum recredentialibus literis ut styli et moris est, concedi, acquiescam me totum, donec vixero obæratum fatebor et nuncupabo domini Miltonii

observantissimum et addictissimum

[10 Feb. 1652.]

M.

day I shall achieve this. Thus it remains for you not to neglect your own interests, but to write to the Council about that postponement; for I have omitted nought which in me lies. Most zealous for your honor and plans,                      John Milton.

5 February 10, 1652.

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LX. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Most noble Milton,

I have understood your friendly spirit from your hand, and send now these thanks, with the intention of attesting them by deeds before my departure. I shall again lay my petition  
 10 before your august Council of State this afternoon. If you shall be present, my Milton, continue to assist me by your advice and inform more fully those who do not yet comprehend the purpose of my master, so that I can hasten it and be able to go hence happy. If it shall be possible for the diploma  
 15 or at least the desired address to be granted with proper formality, together with credentials in the customary fashion, I shall be content. So long as I shall live I shall confess myself to be wholly in your debt, and shall call myself

Master Milton's most devoted and attached

20

M[ylius].

[February 10, 1652.]

LXI. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Nobilissime Miltoni.

Adfui domino Flemingio, qui cum domino Generali, et aliis membris consilii potioribus de verbis omissis (heredibus et successoribus) communicabit. Malo itaque differri et suspendi  
 5 hodie negotium, ut post meridiem in Senatu reproduci, et domino meo satisfieri possit. Apponant quæ dixi, vel alia eiusdem sensus, 'si heredes nihil adversi vel iniqui contra Rempublicam attentent vel machinentur.' Sinceram enim amicitiam et benevolentiam Parlamenti Reipublicæ quærit dominus  
 10 Comes, eamque à se suisque successoribus reddi cupit et optat, ut ego tuam Mi Miltoni mutuo adfectu in effectum tuus

[12 Feb. 1652.]

LXII. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Amicissime Miltoni

Si placet, verbo rescribas quid heri actum sit, aut porro agi  
 15 debeat, circa negotium domini mei, quò meminisse eius saltem in hodiernis literis queam. Nunquam immemor futurus sui  
 Miltonii

Mylius

[13 Feb. 1652.]

LXI. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Most noble Milton,

I have visited Mr. Fleming who will communicate with the Lord General and other more influential members of the Council about the words which have been omitted  
 5 "his heirs and successors". I prefer therefore to have the business suspended and put off today so that it may be brought up again this afternoon in the Parliament, and satisfaction be given to my master. Let them add what I have said or something of the same import "if the heirs neither attempt  
 10 nor plot anything base or warlike against the Commonwealth". For my Lord Count seeks the sincere friendship and good will of the Parliament of the Commonwealth, and earnestly desires that the feeling be returned by himself and his successors, even as I yours! My Milton, with mutual affection  
 15 in success, yours M[ylius].

February 12, 1651.

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LXII. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Dearest Friend Milton,

Please write me briefly what was done yesterday or what ought to be done next about my master's business, so that I  
 20 may at least mention it in my letter today. Never to be forgetful of his Milton, Mylius.

Feb. 13, 1651/2.

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LXIII. MILTON *to* MYLIUS.

Heri (mi spectatissime Hermanne) postquam discesseras, pervenit ad me Concilii mandatum, quo Jubebar, exemplar latinum cum anglico conferre, operamque dare, ut inter se congruerent, deinde Domino Whitlockio et Nevillo utrumque  
 5 mittere percurrendum, quod et feci, et simul Domino Whitlockio ampliter scripsi, de illo quod inseri cupiebas, nimirum ut successoribus et posteris etiam Domini Comitibus, caveretur, eadem formula quam et ipse suggerebas: addidi insuper quas et ipse attulisti rationes, quamobrem id nisi fieret, nihil agi  
 10 videretur, quid deinceps in Concilio actum sit, certe nescio, hesternam enim pluviam detentus, non interfui. Tu si ad Concilium scribas, vel potius ad Dominum Frostium quenquam ex tuis mittas, ex iis credo audies; vel saltem vesperi ex me scies

Tibi addictissimo

15 Feb: 13<sup>to</sup> 1651

Johan. Miltonio

LXIV. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Nobilissime Miltoni (aliter) Amicorum Princeps.

Adfui domi tuæ sed dominus domus quem quæsi abfuit. Hoc saltem à tua in me proluxa benevolentia, volui

LXIII. MILTON *to* MYLIUS.

Yesterday, my most respected Hermann, after you left, there came to me an order of the Council, by which I was commanded to compare the Latin copy with the English and take care that they agree with each other; then to send both to  
 5 Mr. Whitlocke and Neville to be read. I both did this, and at the same time wrote fully to Mr. Whitlocke about what you wished to be inserted, namely that provision be made for the successors and descendants of the Lord Count, in the very formula which you yourself suggested: I added besides the  
 10 reasons you advanced why, if this were not done, nothing would seem to have been accomplished. What afterwards happened in the Council, I do not positively know, for I was not present, being kept away by yesterday's rain. If you send some of your people to the Secretaries of the Council, or better  
 15 to Mr. Frost, I believe you will hear from them, or in any case you shall learn in the evening from me, Your most devoted, John Milton.

February 13, 1651.

LXIV. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Most Noble Milton; or, shall I say, foremost of friends:

20 I came to your house, but its master, whom I sought, was not there. It was my desire to obtain this, at least, from your abounding good will towards me, that I might see the

376 CORRESPONDENCE WITH MYLIUS

impetrare, ut proiectum latinum Salvaguardiæ, veluti a Parlamento approbatum, et recredenciales, intuerer num clausulæ adiunctæ vel insertæ sint contra totam meam intentionem et mentem. Si per præsentem communicaveris ad horæ exitum,  
 5 tanto magis me filis devincies, quem iam tuis meritis impertitum possides totum

[21 Feb. 1652.]

Mylium.

LXV. MILTON *to* MYLIUS.

Scripta illa, Vir nobilissime, quæ intueri cupis, jam triduum  
 10 est, quòd a me Concilii scribis missa ad describendum sunt, et diploma illud quod ad Dominum Whitlockium misi ut in Parlamento ultimùm perlegeretur, ex illo tempore non vidi. Dictum enim mihi a Domino Frostio erat, concessa illic omnia esse ex tui animi sententia. Restat nihil quod sciam, nisi ut a  
 15 Scriba Concilij ad Parlamenti Clericum consignanda mittantur: quod nisi jam factum sit, curabo die Lunæ, cum ad Concilium venero uti quam primum fiat; si prius videro sitne ista clausula inserta, quam insertam volebas,

Tui ex animo Studiosissimus

20 Feb. 21<sup>mo</sup> 1651.

Joannes Miltonius

Latin version of the Safe-guard as it has been approved by Parliament and also the letters of credentials to ascertain whether phrases have been added or inserted out of harmony with my own intention and ideas. If you will communicate  
 5 with me by the present messenger at the end of an hour, you will the more bind me by cords, me, whom you already wholly possess, the captive of your kindnesses.

Mylius

February 21, 1652.

---

LXV. MILTON *to* MYLIUS.

10 Most noble sir, it is now three days since I sent those documents you wish to see to the Secretaries of the Council to be copied; the diploma which I sent to Mr. Whitlocke to be read for the last time in Parliament, I have not seen since then. Mr. Frost told me that everything was granted in it according  
 15 to your desire. There remains nothing, so far as I know, but for the documents to be sent by the Secretary of the Council to the Clerk of the Parliament to be signed; if this be not yet done, I will on Monday, when I go to the Council, see that it be done as soon as may be, when I have once made sure that  
 20 the clause which you wished to be put in has been inserted.

Heartily zealous for you, John Milton.

February 21, 1651/2.



LXVI. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Salveas animitus dulce decus meum, mi Miltoni. Etiam  
 non rogatus, ceu scio et confido hodie facies, et proficies quod  
 fieri diu optavi, et ut efficias efflictim rogo quo tandem ex  
 amplexu tuo defæcata fronte et mente hinc ad tecti et lecti mei  
 5 domestici licita gaudia coniugem, et infantem\* quam me ab-  
 sente gravidans\* mea ruri\* tulerit\* et laboris consors et inti-  
 mioris admissionis amicus nautico fœnore resarciam. Nosti  
 quid velim, et quid sim ubicunque fuero et iuero

vel per Alpium iuga  
 Inhospitalem et Caucasum  
 10 vel occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum

Tuus et tua virtute emptus

[23 Feb. 1652.]

Mylius

LXVI. MYLIUS *to* MILTON.

Heartfelt greetings, my dear Milton, my joy and pride. Even unasked, you will today, as I know and trust, do and carry forward that which I have long desired to be done, and which I urgently beg you to achieve; in order that at last, from  
 5 your embrace, with carefree brow and mind, hence to the lawful joys of my home roof and bed, I may, as the sharer of toil and as a friend of privileged intimacy, with the gains of my voyage, make all serene with my wife and [baby girl\* whom she, being great with child\* in my absence, bore\* at my coun-  
 10 try home\*.] You know what I wish and what I am wherever I shall be and shall help, "whether in the midst of Alpine heights and the inhospitable Caucasus or all the way to the remotest bay of the West."

Yours, bought by your noble character

15

Mylius

[23 Feb. 1652.]



## NOTES



## EPISTOLARUM FAMILIARIUM LIBER UNUS ET PROLUSIONES

THE present text of *Epistolarum Familiarium Liber Unus* and of the *Prolusiones* has been prepared from photostats of the 1674 edition. Corrections made in the Errata have been incorporated into the text and are listed in the following notes. In the 1674 edition, Milton's quotations from the Greek are frequently corrupt. They have been made to conform to the condition of the several texts in the sixteenth century. Readings from the two letters, manuscripts of which survive, are recorded in the notes. Both MSS read "et" whereas the edition reads "&." The notes ignore this.

The textual notes to letter 10 to Dati were made from the holograph MS in the New York Public Library. The MS is preserved in a volume of Milton family papers, which, according to the statement of Mr. Paltsits, keeper of manuscripts, "was derived from the sale of the library of John Fitchett Marsh, and was purchased by the London bookseller, Bernard Quaritch, who catalogued it in June, 1882, at £42. From Quaritch it was bought by the Lenox Library (now a part of the New York Public Library)."

The last thirteen lines of the letter are written on the reverse of the sheet. The ink has eaten into the paper to such an extent that these thirteen lines and the first fifteen lines are rendered difficult, and in some places impossible, to read. When the MS was in better condition, Mr. Marsh, the former owner, printed in Volume One of the *Chetham Miscellanies* (1851) a fac-

simile of the salutation, the first three lines, the first two words of the fourth line, and the final line. This facsimile has been used to advantage in reading the final line. The MS of Milton's letter to Dati is 6½ by 11½ inches. The reproduction facing page 50 has been reduced to 4½ by 8⅛ inches.

The textual notes to letter 11 to Mylius were made from a photostatic positive of the MS [Oldenburg Landesarchiv: Aa Grafschaft Tit. 38, no. 73, Fasc. 5, Bl. 4]. The discovery of this MS was announced by Thomas O. Mabbott in the *London Times Literary Supplement*, February 16, 1928.

The translation of the familiar letters made by David Masson for his *Life of Milton* has been followed with few exceptions. His bits of Latin and Greek have been translated and his use of italics to indicate Greek has been abandoned.

The MS corrections, thought Milton's, in Mr. Comberbach's copy of the 1674 edition, were already lost, when mentioned in 1740 by Francis Peck, *New Memoirs of Milton*, page 97. The following errata however are printed on the verso of page 155 in all copies.

## ERRATA

PAG. 18. lin. 28. *pro ἐνέταξε*, leg. *ἐνετάξε*. p. 22. l. 17. *pro Civibus*. leg. *a Civibus*. p. 23. l. 14. *pro fuerat*, leg. *fuerit*. p. 39. l. 24. *pro locis disjunctus*, leg. *locis ipse dispunctus*. p. 43. l. 24. *pro accidit*, leg. *acciderit*. p. 46. l. 1. *pro tuopte*, leg. *suopte*. p. 49. l. penult. *pro majus*, leg. *magis*. p. 69. l. 23. *pro nascetur* leg. *fere nascetur*. p. 72. l. 12. *pro quo minus*, leg. *ne*. p. 84. l. 12. *post idem dele id*. p. 91. *pro fundens*, leg. *perfundens*. p. 98. l. 21. *pro Luma*, leg. *lua*. p. 107. l. 13. leg. *Vandalici*. p. 107. l. 23. leg. *traxissent*. p. 113. l. 8. leg. *Philosophiæ*. p. 118. l. 9. leg. *libentias*. p. 119. l. 2. leg. *rei summæ*. l. 6. leg. *potuerit*. p. 131. l. 23. *pro regeserint*, leg. *se gesserint*. p. 131. l. 28. *post saga*, dele *cui*, & sic lege *magico perfudit unguento? an denique ego a Deo aliquo vitatus*, &c. p. 134.

*l. 12. pro. at, leg. εἰ. p. 137. l. 13. pro didicisse, leg. dedidicisse. p. 140. l. 14. leg. fragilem.*

## EPISTOLARUM FAMILIARIUM LIBER UNUS

PAGE 18

—6 δῆλον] δηλον

PAGE 26

—2 ἐνεστάξε] ἐνέταξε

CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA.

PAGE 28

—4 ἐνπρεπέστερον] ἐνπρεπέστερον

PAGE 32

—19 solidam a civibus] solidam civibus CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA.

PAGE 34

—10 Dantem] dantem —16 fuerit] fuerat CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA.

PAGE 40

—10 μαιευτικήν] μαιευτικήν

PAGE 44

FOR DATI'S EARLIER LETTER AND REPLY SEE MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE XXXIV AND XXXV. ALL SURE MS VARIANTS FOLLOW.

—21 *Carolo Dato Patricio Florentino*] ms *Carolo Dato Patricio Florentino Joannes Miltonius Londinensis S. P. D.* —23 quam] ms quàm

PAGE 46

—4 *elegantia*] ms *Elegantia* *pulchre*] ms *pulchrè* —5 *dixerim*,] ms *dixerim: cum*] ms *cum*, —6 *amicitia*] ms *Amicitia vero*] ms *verò* —7 *in illud quod*] ms *in quod* —9 *lætitia; mox*] ms *Lætitia. Mox* —13 *etiam enecare*] ms *enecare etiam* —14 *mehercule*] ms *mehercule*, —17 *abripi*] ms *tolli* —18 *quod*] ms *quòd* —20 *sane*] ms *sanè* *utrique*] ms *utrique*,

PAGE 48

—3 *fuit*,] ms *fuit*; —4 *nunc*] PRECEDED IN MS BY CANCELLED *non* [?] *inhærent*,] *inhærent*; —6 *urbe*,] ms *urbe charissimâ*,] ms *charissimâ* —7 *plane*] ms *planè* —9 *oppressus, ad ea*] ms *oppressus ad ea*, —10 *potui*] ms *potui*, —11 *quam*] ms *quàm* —14 *primum*] ms *primùm* —15 *sane sedulo*] ms *sanè sedulò* —16 *mei*,] ms *mei* —17 *inclusis*,] ms *inclusis* —19 *scribendum allicerem*] ms *scribendum in Angliam allicerem* —22 *rescissent*] ms *rescissent* *incurrerem*] ms *caderem* —23 *à*] ms *a* —24 *primus & hâc amicissimâ Literarum provocatione, &*



scribendi officio ter jam repetito debitas tibi à me jampridem respondendi]  
 ms primus insperato hoc tuo per literas invitatu, ne dicam priorum illarum  
 jacturâ debitas jam tibi a me respondendi.

## PAGE 50

—3 causam,] ms causam iste,] ms iste —5 paulo] ms  
 paulò excolendis, ad vitam] ms excolendis ad vitam, —7 Civium]  
 ms civium —8 direptiones,] ms direptiones Literario  
 tutum] ms literario alicubi tutum —9 mala, quoniam] ms mala  
 ( quoniam —10 postulas,] ms postulas ) —11 Anglice]  
 ms Anglicè —12 Poematum] ms Poëmatum —13 quidem] ms  
 quidem, mittam; atque] ms mittam. Atque —14 jamdudum]  
 ms jampridem quod] ms quòd —17 ut] ms ut, —22  
 Regis] ms regis à] ms WRITTEN ABOVE CANCELLED abs —23  
 lego] ms lego; non compitalem illum] ms non illum compitalem,

## PAGE 52

—1 addictum, quem te nuper colere jocarîs, sed] ms addictum, sed  
 —3 praesidem,] ms praesidem aliqua] ms aliquâ —6  
 Mercatores] ms mercatores vos,] ms vos —7 Tabellarii] ms  
 tabellarii ultro citroque] ms ultrò citròque —8 cursitant;]  
 ms] cursitant, multo] ms multò —10 recte] ms rectè —12  
 Clementillo minori] ms Clementillo —13 novisti;] ms novisti,  
 —14 Academiæ,] ms Academiæ vale] ms Vale —15 *Londino*,  
 Aprilis 21. 1647.] ms Londini Pascatis feriâ tertiâ MDCXLVII tertiâ]  
 AFTER THIS MS HAS CANCELLED WORD UNREAD

## PAGE 53

*Hermano Millio*, Comitis *Oldenburgici* Oratori] ms HAS NO SUPER-  
 SCRIPTION. —16 Literas] ms literas Nobilissime] ms nobilissime  
 17 Decemb.] ms xvii xbris —17 datas,] ms datas respondeam;] ms  
 respondeam, tam] ms tàm —18 Primum] ms Primum —20  
 igitur] ms igitur, quæ] ms quæ IS INSERTED WITH A CARET fere]  
 ms ferè IS WRITTEN ABOVE A CANCELLED WORD ENDING IN -ere.  
 Adversatrix] ms adversatrix —21 causa,] ms causâ —23  
 inceperam] ms incoeperam Literæ] ms literæ

## PAGE 54

—1 postremo] ms Postremò certe] ms certè —3 exque eo]  
 ms ex eoq; —5 decerneretur? ] ms decerneretur à] ms a sæpe]  
 ms sæpè —6 seque] ms séq; —7 Satiùs] ms Satiùs —8 quam]  
 ms quàm —9 extemplo] ms extemplò tuque] ms túq; —10  
 expetebas] ms expectabas WITH THE C CANCELLED AND FIRST A CHANGED  
 to e libentissime] ms libentissimè —11 Concilio Præsident]  
 ms Concilio D<sup>num</sup> Whitlochium Præsident —12 retulit,] ms retulit:  
 —14 constituta] ms statuta est. Hac] ms est; Eámq; brevem admodum

ausim dicere futuram, nisi tu istam brevem voculam quasi ad calculos accurate nimum exegisses. Hac IN THIS THE WORD voculam WAS FIRST MISSPELLED volulam AND CORRECTED. re] ms rei [?] —16 aliquod] ms quodcunq; existimabam] IN THE MS THE FIRST m IS WRITTEN OVER A b. THE AMANUENSIS STARTED TO WRITE existibam PERHAPS. —17 *Westmonasterio*] ms Dat. Parva Francia Westmonasterii: 2 Jan: 1652. (THE 2 Jan: IS WRITTEN BELOW A CANCELLED ultimo xbris AND 1651 HAS BEEN CHANGED TO 1652.) Tuarum rerū, tuiq; honoris Studiosissimus Joannes Miltonius SEE ALSO NOS. XLVII—LXVI.

PAGE 56

—12 *ἐβδοξίας*] *ἐβδοξίας*

PAGE 66

—5 locis ipse disjunctus] locis disjunctus CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA.

PAGE 68

—12 *γαῖαν*] *γαῖαν* *φέρεισθαι*] *φέρεισθαι* —13 *κέκλιτ'*] *κέκλιτ*

PAGE 70

Epist. 16 ANSWERS MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE NO. XXXVI.

PAGE 78

—4 *suopte*] *tuopte* CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA. —17 19.] 12

PAGE 84

—20 *magis*] *majus* CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA.

PAGE 88

—6 *hominem*] *ho-* (END OF LINE) *nem*

PAGE 90

—15 *Fæminæ*] *Fæminæ*

PAGE 94

—24 *macte*] *Macte*

PAGE 96

—8 *enim*] *enim enim*

PAGE 100

—1 *etiam*] *etam* —13 *præcipiendi*] *præcipendi*

PAGE 102

—8 *Halicarnassæo*] *Halicarnessæo*

PAGE 112

—15 31.] LAST LETTER IS NOT NUMBERED. IT REPLIES TO MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE XXXVII.

## PROLUSIONES

PAGE 120

—19 *Oratorculos*] *Orato-* (END OF LINE) *culos*

## PAGE 122

—12 fere nascitur] nascitur CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA.

## PAGE 124

—19 Natalibus] Nata- (END OF LINE) talibus

## PAGE 126

—8 Ἑρεβός] Ἑρεβός

## PAGE 128

—1 αὐτ'] αὐτ' —3 humaniores] hūmaniores —4 ne] quo  
minus CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA.

## PAGE 132

—10 amasio] Amasio

## PAGE 134

—21 scilicet] sclicet

## PAGE 136

—20 Clytie] Clysie

## PAGE 138

—12 sacrificare] sacrificā- (END OF LINE) care

## PAGE 140

—2 καθυπέρτερον] καθυπέρτερον —3 γλῦκυν] γλῦκυν —5 εἰναλίων]  
ἐνναλίων —23 emorirentur] emorerenur

## PAGE 144

—10 autumat] autumnat

## PAGE 150

—11 idem pene] idem id pene CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA.

## PAGE 152

—1 inauditam] in auditam

## PAGE 160

—3 mea] meo

## PAGE 162

—9 verisimile] verosimile —17 Phæbea] Phæbea —21  
perfundens] profundens CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA.

## PAGE 176

—1 atque] atque atque —7 operæ pretium] operæpretium  
—15 Lua] Luna CORRECTED TO READ lua IN THE ERRATA.

## PAGE 180

—1 hereseos] hereseos —6 agamus] agagamus

## PAGE 192

—16 Vandalici] Vandelici CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA. Hun-  
nique] Hunnique

## PAGE 194

—1 traxisset] traxiset CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA.

PAGE 200

—15 alterationem] alterat- (END OF LINE) onem

PAGE 204

—(IN TITLE) *Philosophiae*] *Philosophi* CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA.

PAGE 212

—21 credibile] credible

PAGE 214

—2 Libertias] Libertias CORRECTED TO READ libentias IN THE ERRATA.

—22 potuerit] potu- (END OF LINE) it CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA.

PAGE 220

—10 festivitatum] festivi- (END OF LINE) vitatum —15 *Jovem*] *Jovim*

PAGE 224

—19 lepide] lep- (END OF LINE) de

PAGE 226

—12 rei summæ] re summâ CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA, WHICH LIST THE CORRECTION FOR PAGE 119, LINE 2 OF THE 1674 EDITION INSTEAD OF FOR PAGE 125, LINE 2, WHERE IT IS APPROPRIATE. —17 *Barnwellianos*] *Barwellianos*

PAGE 230

—2 *Eumenides*] *Euminides* —11 fumi globos] fumiglobos

PAGE 234

—4 vel] vel vel

PAGE 238

—11 Palilia] Patilia —14 vocant] vo- (END OF LINE) ant  
—23 se gesserint] regesserint CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA.

PAGE 240

—5 saga magico perfudit unguento? an denique ego a Deo aliquo vitiatu] saga cui vitatus CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA. —6 Cæneus] Cnœus —7 ἀλλὰ] ἄλλα

PAGE 244

—19 &] at CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA.

PAGE 247

THE ENGLISH REFERRED TO IS TO BE FOUND AMONG THE MINOR POEMS, VOL. I, PAGE 19 FF.

PAGE 250

—10 dedidicisse] didicisse CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA.

PAGE 256

—11 fragilem] fragile CORRECTED FROM THE ERRATA.

PAGE 258

—9 industria] industriâ

## AN EARLY PROLUSION BY JOHN MILTON

THE MS of this prolusion, a single sheet of paper, discovered with Milton's *Commonplace Book*, bore on the other side two brief Latin poems, printed in the present edition in I, 326ff. The MS was first printed in 1876 at page 61 in the first issue of Alfred D. Horwood's edition of the *Commonplace Book*. The MS, in bad shape when found, is thought to have crumbled to dust within a year or two, but not before two photographs had been taken of it. Our text is based on one of these photographs in the British Museum (MS. Add. 41063 I), but five words illegible therein follow Horwood's text. On this prolusion see Masson's *Life*, revised ed.; 1881, I, 303.

## PAGE 288

—1 BEFORE THE LINE CAN BE SEEN FAINTLY [Johann]es Milton THE TITLE IS PART OF THE FIRST SENTENCE. —4 singulas huius rei] FIRST WRITTEN huius rei singulas BUT THE PRESENT ORDER IS INDICATED BY MILTON'S SUBSCRIPT NUMBERS 2 3 1. —9 velis] FIRST BEGUN cupi (FOR UNFINISHED cupi[s]?). —10 auvium] THIS READING OF THE MS IS PLAIN, AND IS LESS AN ERROR, PROBABLY, THAN A DOUBLING OF THE SECOND LETTER FOR CLARITY. ONE MEETS WITH "AUVE" FOR "AVE" IN OLD MSS. —11 odorum] A CROSS BESIDE THIS WORD PERHAPS MARKS MILTON'S DISSATISFACTION WITH IT. —13 aliquantulum] THE ACCENT IS DOUBLED IN THE MS. —15-16 ingenium.] THE PERIOD IS LOST WITH THE EDGE OF THE MS. —16 non] FIRST BEGUN h. . . (FOR INTENDED h[aud] ?) —19 Theocritus] FOLLOWS CANCELLED Home. . . (FOR INTENDED Home[rus]) —22 Εὐδεις MILTON FIRST WROTE Ευθε. . . CHANGED IT TO Ευδε THEN CANCELLED IT AND WROTE Εὐδεις AND FINALLY CORRECTED THE BREATHING. —23 παννύχιον] THE SECOND nu INSERTED WITH CARET. βουλήφορον] ORIGINALLY βουλόφορον

## PAGE 290

—5 ut] ORIGINALLY et (?). —5-6 relinquerem . . . . ab] HOR-

WOOD'S READING IS FULLY SUPPORTED BY THE FEW LETTERS NOW LEGIBLE. —8 ecquid] THE C INSERTED WITH CARET. —9 et] INSERTED WITH CARET.

## MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE

**I**N this section are texts of all letters by and to Milton, not given elsewhere in this edition, and known to survive in 1935. The letters are arranged categorically. Those in foreign tongues, which require translations on the opposite pages, have been separated from those in English. The correspondence with Mylius, because of its relative completeness and the unusual problems it presents, has been set apart. Within each group the arrangement is chronological.

In our notes we try to record the nature and whereabouts of the MS source of each letter; the first printing of the text; its first inclusion in book form (if not the same as the first printing); and a reference to the discussion in the latest edition of Masson's *Life*, if the document was known to him. Two of Milton's letters, XLI and LXV, are now for the first time collected in book form, and some of those addressed to him are now first printed, wholly or in part.

We have tried to produce a text less for the paleographer than the literary or historical student. In general, abbreviations which consist of only the first letters of a word are preserved; but those which include the first and last letters are expanded. Dates are given as exactly as type can reproduce MS; and in one or two instances, perhaps inconsistently, curious usages have been preserved. When *y* is used for *thorn*, it is

printed *th*; and the superscript nasal appears as ordinary *m* or *n*. A few emendations of obvious slips of the pen are treated in the notes, where are given all the corrections made in the MSS of the letters of Milton, and even (on the ground he may have seen them) of letters received by him. But such variants are not given for drafts of letters to him, which he surely did not see. Spelling, like punctuation, and accentuation, is that of the writers. There has been some normalization of curiously formed marks of punctuation and the use of Greek capitals. And occasionally the decision as to whether certain Roman letters be capital or lower case; whether certain dots are commas or periods, has been a matter of expediency rather than certainty. General comment on the Mylius Correspondence precedes the annotations on the individual letters thereof.

We would here record our gratitude to His Grace the Marquess of Bath, for permission to include the text of his letter of Milton (XLI), the only one now known in private hands, and to J. Milton French, who first printed it in December, 1934. We are deeply indebted to the officials of the British Museum; the Public Record Office; Cambridge University; the Archives of Oldenburg i.O., Germany; and the New York Public Library where original correspondence of Milton is now preserved. Special thanks are due for aid in discovering the Mylius documents to Geh. H. Goens, and Dr. H. Lübbling of Oldenburg; and to Professor G. L. Kittredge, Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum, and other friends for aid in deciphering them; while Professors Dino Bigongiari, and Garrett Mattingly had a large share in editing Dati's letters.

We number the letters arbitrarily. Milton's published *Epistola* are 31; we begin with XXXII, and continue this series, using Roman numerals, since his own series had Arabic numbers, but making it possible for each letter to have a number of its own; an intercalated letter is used for one letter of which two texts are printed. The method is based on the practice of editors of Cicero's Letters, and we hope will avoid confusion in future references. It should be recalled that of the 35 letters of the Miscellaneous Correspondence, only nine are written by Milton, the others being addressed to him. We have thus 40 of Milton's letters, 26 to him, counting only complete texts.

Our translations are as nearly literal as English idiom will allow, but in them wrong references for quotations have, where possible been corrected, and missing ones supplied in brackets in many cases. A discussion of others, and a few problems of an interpretative character will, we hope, appear in *Notes & Queries*.

## MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE IN FOREIGN TONGUES

XXXII. DIODATI TO MILTON. (I.) 1625.

The two letters from Diodati are preserved in the British Museum (MS. Add. 501x), where a MS note by Birch reads "These 2 Greek Epistles of the famous *Diodati* to Milton were given me by Mr. Toland who wrote the life of the said J. M." Although Toland mentions the letters in his *Life*, p. 23, the first publication of the Greek texts seems to have been that of Mitford, in his edition of Milton's *Works*, 1851, I, pp. cxcii-



cxiv, which incidentally are unusually bad copies, and have led to an unfortunate estimate of Diodati's Greek. Our text is based on photostats of the original MSS. The help of J. A. Herbert of the British Museum is acknowledged in deciphering some of the cancelled readings. Diodati did not use capitals in the body of either letter, even for proper names, but this peculiarity has not been reproduced. The translations are revisions of Masson's (*Life*, rev. ed. I, 162-163). Milton's first Latin Elegy seems to be a reply to the second of these letters, and the seventh Elegy gives evidence that the correspondence continued, but whether Diodati abandoned Greek is not known, since his other letters do not survive. Masson dates the first letter "during the long vacation, 1625."

## PAGE 292

—3 *πρωι*] CORRECTED IN THE MARGIN IN A DIFFERENT HAND TO *πρωην*  
—11 *ἀλλά*] ACCENT CHANGED FROM GRAVE TO ACUTE UPON ADDITION OF THE ENCLITIC. —18 *Μενέλαος*] DIODATI FIRST PLACED THE ACCENT ERRONEOUSLY ON THE FIRST SYLLABLE, BUT CORRECTED IT.

## XXXIII. DIODATI TO MILTON, (II.) 1626.

## PAGE 294

—6 *κάλλιστοι*] FOLLOWED BY A CANCELLED COMMA. —9 *κατάκορος*] WRITTEN OVER AN UNFINISHED CANCELLED WORD OF WHICH ONLY THE LETTERS *πρ* WERE WRITTEN. *ἐσθλόν*] ACCENT CHANGED FROM GRAVE TO ACUTE UPON ADDITION OF THE ENCLITIC. —10 *ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκώμην*] INSERTED WITH CARET. —12 *ἀεὶ*] ACCENT CHANGED FROM GRAVE WHEN ENCLITIC WAS ADDED. —12-13 *μετρίότητος*] ACCENT ILLEGIBLE IN MS. —16 *παύου*] WRITTEN ABOVE CANCELLED WORD *αφες* [... *ἀναγινώσκων*] ORIGINALLY DIODATI TRIED THREE OTHER WORDS, SUCCESSIVELY, THE FIRST NOW PARTLY UNREAD, AS FOLLOWS 1[.....] *ειν* 2. *μανθάνειν* 3. *ἀναγινώσκειν* [?].

## PAGE 295

—22 THE LAST WORD HAS BEEN TRANSLATED Cilicia, FOR THOUGH SOLI IN CILICIA WAS LATER THAN THE TIME OF SARDANAPALUS, IT WAS THE CITY OF CILICIA USUALLY MENTIONED BY THE ATHENIANS.

## XXXIV. DATI TO MILTON. (1.) 1647.

This letter is now for the first time printed in full, from the original MS, preserved in the New York Public Library, in the same volume with the holograph of Milton's letter to Dati [*Epistolæ Familiæres*, no. 10] to which it replies. See the notes at page 383 in this volume. Over eighty years ago the owner of these documents edited for the Chetham Society a volume of *Papers connected with the affairs of John Milton*, Manchester, 1851, and in a frontispiece published a facsimile of a small part of the letter (comprising only the first six words of address, and last four including the signature) and discussed it briefly on page 2. He there pointed out that since Dati's letter contained a fair number of corrections and Milton's none, he was inclined to think Dati's the author's draft, and Milton's the actual letter received. Later scholars tend to accept this. But we know that another letter of Dati's may have come from Mrs. Milton, that it has some corrections, and is unsigned, while this letter is signed. And, since we do not know the early history of the MSS, which Marsh seems to have acquired between 1825 and 1849, we must consider the possibility that this is a veritable letter and no draft. We need not decide the status of Milton's letter on the basis of this, since possibly some collector united the documents in the 17th or 18th Century. We admit the probability that the document is a draft; but the cancelled readings are recorded on the chance it is not. Marsh sent Masson a transcript of the beginning and end of the letter (omitting much discussion of the Latin word *rapidus*), and

Masson printed an English version of this in his *Life* (III, 680 f.) in 1873.

PAGE 296

—15 scrive] FOLLOWS CANCELLED ABBREVIATION FOR per

PAGE 298

—6 quelle] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED contro —7 di] ORIGINALLY che[?]. —9 Dagli] ORIGINALLY da il suoi di esso]

ADDED IN MARGIN. a Lui si] WRITTEN ABOVE CANCELLED se gli

—13 si] FOLLOWS CANCELLED non

PAGE 300

—6 Chiabrera] FIRST BEGUN WITH CAPITAL G —13 appresso il quale] ADDED IN MARGIN. —17 Aggiunto] ORIGINALLY Epiteto di

PAGE 302

—4 Aty] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED UNFINISHED WORD epi —5 Rapidum] ORIGINALLY Rabidum —6 Virgilio] ORIGINALLY Vir-

gilio in Aetna THE LAST WORD WAS CANCELLED; THE SECOND SHOULD HAVE BEEN FOR THE SENSE, AND IS THEREFORE OMITTED FROM THE TEXT. in Aetna] ADDED IN MARGIN IN THIS PLACE. —8 Ercol] ORIGINALLY Herc.

—17 torna] FOLLOWED BY TWO SUCCESSIVELY CANCELLED WORDS, THE SECOND ABOVE THE LINE; megli THEN UNFINISHED bened —19 perche] WRITTEN ABOVE CANCELLED WORD, PERHAPS asue (?).

PAGE 304

—1 tutta] ORIGINALLY ogni —2 Sentiranno] FOLLOWS TWO CANCELLED LINES:

chi parlerà sentirà che uenere è  
nata dal mar ueloce

—11 Eneid] ORIGINALLY Aeneid che] INSERTED ABOVE LINE.

—24 rabidi] ORIGINALLY rapidi

PAGE 306

—7 freddo, e] ORIGINALLY concetto freddo, e sconnen . . . —23 ardire;] ORIGINALLY ardire dando [?] per

PAGE 308

—24 e il nostra] ORIGINALLY Dei quali dei . . . Poeti] INSERTED ABOVE LINE.

PAGE 310

—2 tu] ABOVE THIS IS WRITTEN THE WORD nò SUPERFLUOUS TO TASSO'S TEXT BUT UNCANCELLED. —16 Lettere] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED PASSAGE: E mentre io prego il Sig<sup>o</sup> che la conservi felice

ella mi conservi in sua grazia dandome Segno cò suoi desiderati comandi

Sue —24 dandomene] FOLLOWS CANCELLED con daimone

PAGE 312

—1 suoi] MS suo me] ORIGINALLY hò

XXV. DATI TO MILTON. (II.) 1648.

The original letter is preserved in the British Museum [MS. Add. 5016x] together with the letters of Diodati, Aizema and Heimbach, and was probably obtained by Toland from Mrs. Milton. The text was in 1851 published by Mitford in his edition of Milton [Vol. I, p. cxcv] and is translated and discussed by Masson in the *Life*, III, 690.

PAGE 314

—8 Regnante] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED mi —16 ed io]  
ORIGINALLY ed' io —17 obligato] ORIGINALLY obligati

XXXVI. LEO AB AIZEMA TO MILTON. 1655.

The original letter is in the British Museum [MS. Add. 5016x] together with the letters of Diodati, Dati, and Heimbach, probably obtained from Mrs. Milton. It was printed by Mitford in 1851 in his edition [I, cxcv], and translated by Masson [*Life*, V. 170]; Milton's answer is *Epistolæ* 16.

PAGE 314

—23 Anglico] FIRST WRITTEN Anglice

XXXVII. HEIMBACH TO MILTON. 1666.

The original letter is with those printed above, in the British Museum [MS. Add. 5016x] probably from the same source, it was printed in 1851 by Mitford [I, cxcvi], and translated by Masson [*Life*, VI, 501]. Milton's reply to this is in *Epistolæ* 31; Heimbach had already received 20 and 27; and a copy of the 1645 *Poems* with a special honorific inscription by Milton, to be printed in our last volume.

PAGE 316

—13 interesse] INSERTED IN MARGIN. —15 coelo] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED *sc* OR PERHAPS A BAD BEGINNING OF *redonatum* —18 satis] INSERTED ABOVE LINE.

PAGE 318

—1 solitò] ORIGINALLY *solicite* —4 saturus] GRAMMAR DEMANDS *satur* —10 doctissime] ORIGINALLY *doctissimé*

## NOTES ON MILTON'S ENGLISH CORRESPONDENCE

XXXVIII "LETTER TO A FRIEND", 1632 [?].

Among the MSS of Milton in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, are two drafts of a letter written by Milton to a friend who had apparently urged him to take orders. They contain a version of the sonnet written on the poet's twenty-third birthday (December 21, 1631) which is referred to as "composed some while since" in a phrase added with a caret. This may be taken as an indication that the poem was not very old, and is grounds for dating the letter about 1632, and the presence of the sonnet may be the reason the papers were kept with other MSS, containing only verse or plans for poetry. That the letter was a mere rhetorical exercise has been suggested, but the care with which the final expression of friendship is worked out favors strongly the hypothesis that the recipient was real to the writer.

The Cambridge MSS were found by a certain "learned Mr. Professor Mason" shortly before their discovery was reported by Thomas Newton in his edition of *Paradise Lost*, 1749. The text was published by Birch in his *Life* prefixed to his edition of Milton's *Works*, 1753 [I, pp. iv-vi]. It is treated

by Masson, *Life*, rev. ed. I, pp. 323-325. And it has been most elaborately edited with collotype facsimiles and type transcript by William Aldis Wright in the *Facsimile of the Manuscript of Milton's Minor Poems*, Cambridge, 1899, pp. [iii], [v], 6-7.

We have given both versions in extenso, and in the notes record the changes made by Milton as he labored over his phrasing. Wright gave only a type facsimile; we try to give an interpretation as well. Milton cancelled words by drawing a line through them, once in a while he restored such a cancelled passage by drawing a line under it. Few differences from, or additions to Wright appear, but those few seem justified. The name of the recipient has not been plausibly suggested. The omission of the text of the sonnet in one draft is due to Milton; his final text would probably have been much like Draft II, but with the sonnet. The MSS pages are [6] and 7 in the Cambridge series, and the latter is numbered by Milton himself.

## FIRST DRAFT

## PAGE 320

—2 by you when ever we meet] MILTON APPARENTLY FIRST WROTE as oft as wee meet 2ND as oft when wee meet THEN RESTORED THE FIRST READING, AND FOURTHLY ATTAINED THE READING OF THE TEXT BY ADDING whē ever we IN THE MARGIN. often] LAST TWO LETTERS INSERTED WITH CARET. —2-3 and were yesterday especially] INSERTED WITH CARET. —5 day] FOLLOWS CANCELLED twelve —6 labour] ORIGINALLY worke —9 every one] ORIGINALLY all men when] ORIGINALLY still as LATER ALTERED TO as THE THIRD READING BEING THAT OF THE TEXT. —9-10 to give] ORIGINALLY offer'd —10 though unask] INSERTED WITH CARET. —12 will not] not is INSERTED WITH CARET. —17 yeares] ORIGINALLY tyme in the] ms in ithe —19 if it were no more but this] WRITTEN

AFTER on the other side WAS CANCELLED. on the other side] INSERTED WITH CARET.

#### PAGE 321

—1 away] ORIGINALLY in —1-2 & . . . swaying] INSERTED WITH CARET. —2 avaleable] ORIGINALLY potent to —2-3] to that which you wish me] (MS W<sup>ch</sup>) INSERTED WITH CARET. —4 forward] INSERTED WITH CARET. —4-5 none of which can sort with] (MS W<sup>ch</sup>) ORIGINALLY W<sup>ch</sup> would soone cause me to throw off AND SECONDLY W<sup>ch</sup> can not sort with —6 & . . . off] INSERTED WITH CARET. —8 & repute] ADDED LATER. —10 of ] INSERTED WITH CARET. —12 prævaile] ORIGINALLY induce me —17 he] INSERTED WITH CARET. —18 early entring] FIRST WRITTEN entring early BUT CHANGED BY SUBSCRIPT NUMBERS. —20-21 præsently . . . & ] ORIGINALLY never brooke, but —26 will be] ORIGINALLY is on the other way] INSERTED WITH CARET. —27 ambition] FOLLOWED BY & the like INSERTED WITH CARET BUT AFTERWARDS CANCELLED.

#### PAGE 322

—1 & dispose] ORIGINALLY to the other side, then the bare love of notions could resist. THE LAST EIGHT WORDS OF THIS SEEM TO HAVE BEEN CANCELLED AND THEN RESTORED BEFORE A SECOND CANCELLATION, THE PRESENT PHRASE WAS INSERTED WITH A CARET. outward] WRITTEN AFTER CANCELLED expect FOR UNFINISHED expect[atons] —3 if it be] WRITTEN AFTER CANCELLED this W<sup>ch</sup> —7 in me] CHANGED FROM in my selfe —8 some] WRITTEN AFTER CANCELLED a peice —8-9 some while since] INSERTED WITH CARET. —9 made up in] FIRST made up for SECOND packt up in THIRD AS TEXT. stanza] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED SENTENCE W<sup>ch</sup> if you please, you may reade

### SECOND DRAFT

#### PAGE 322

—24 other] INSERTED WITH CARET. —25 ever] THE PAPER IS TORN, BUT ONCE BORE PART OR ALL OF A WORD WHICH MUST HAVE BEEN CANCELLED; ONLY THE FIRST LETTER IS NOW LEGIBLE; IT MAY HAVE BEEN m[eeeting]

#### PAGE 323

—2 with me] (MS W<sup>ch</sup>) INSERTED WITH CARET. —6 I] WRITTEN OVER CANCELLED & [?]. —6-7 unask't] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED as oft as occasion is —12 best] WRITTEN ABOVE CANCELLED owne But] INSERTED WITH CARET ABOVE CANCELLED yet —15 Latimus] FOLLOWED IN MS BY UNCANCELLED BUT SUPERFLUOUS of —16 meere]

INSERTED WITH CARET. —17 bad] INSERTED WITH CARET ABOVE  
 CANCELLED evill in me —18 not] INSERTED WITH CARET. —21  
 with Gaine] (ms w<sup>th</sup>) FIRST WORD INSERTED IN MARGIN. —22 a]  
 ORIGINALLY the —24 off] INSERTED IN MARGIN. becomes]  
 WRITTEN AFTER CANCELLED UNFINISHED bring[... —26-27] aspire  
 to] INSERTED WITH CARET ABOVE CANCELLED desire to —27] defend  
 & be] ORIGINALLY defend his freinds or be usefull AFTERWARDS THE  
 FIRST THREE WORDS WERE CANCELLED; AND LASTLY defend WAS RE-  
 STORED BY A SUBSCRIPT LINE, AND OVER CANCELLED OR WAS WRITTEN &  
 to offend] FIRST WORD INSERTED WITH CARET. —28 Or] WRIT-  
 TEN AFTER CANCELLED & who would not praeferre pronenesse] IN-  
 SERTED WITH CARET AFTER CANCELLED inclination in me

## PAGE 324

—1 against that] (ms y<sup>t</sup>) INSERTED WITH CARET. potent inclination  
 & inbred] ORIGINALLY potent inbred affection SECOND potent inbred  
 inclination AND LAST THE READING OF THE TEXT BY ADDITION OF &  
 WITH CARET AND RECOPYING OF inclination IN MARGIN AND SUBSCRIPT  
 NUMBERS; BEFORE ALL THIS IS AN ILLEGIBLE MARK NEAR THE MARGIN  
 AND AFTER CANCELLED inclination AN UNCERTAIN WORD as OR OF  
 —3 owne] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED w<sup>ch</sup> would soone over master the  
 other esteemed] INSERTED WITH CARET. —5-12 and though...  
 obtaine it] THIS IS WRITTEN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE BELOW THE SONNET  
 AND CONNECTED WITH THE WORD nature BY A LINE AROUND MARGIN.  
 —9 seated] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED PHRASE FIRST WRITTEN IN THE  
 brest I thinke SECOND I knowe in the brest AND THEN REJECTED;  
 BUT THE SUCCESSION OF THESE PHRASES IS DOUBTFUL. all] ORIGINALLY  
 every one make] ORIGINALLY makes —12 obtaine it] FOLLOWED  
 BY CANCELLED to omit out ward casses —13-14 but .... selfe]  
 ORIGINALLY above nature —14-15 Lastly .... good] FIRST READ-  
 ING lastly if the Love of Learning be the persuit of somthing, as it is  
 good SECOND the Love of Learning as it is the persuit of somthing good  
 THIRD IS OUR TEXT, BUT WE OMIT A SUPERFLUOUS the WHICH MILTON  
 DID NOT CANCEL. —15 sooner] ORIGINALLY still —16 knowne  
 & præsented] INSERTED WITH CARET. —17 diverted] ORIGINALLY  
 turn'd —19 in] WRITTEN AFTER CANCELLED from —21  
 therefore that] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED it is not the thing you sup-  
 pose that [THE CANCELLING LINE FAILING TO PASS THROUGH THE LAST  
 SUPERFLUOUS WORD.] the] INSERTED WITH CARET. —22 great]  
 ORIGINALLY high comāndment] ORIGINALLY BEGUN comānde —23  
 as soone as may be] INSERTED WITH CARET. undergoe] THE LAST TWO  
 LETTERS ARE TORN AWAY FROM MS.



## PAGE 325

—3 at once] INSERTED WITH CARET. excuse] INSERTED ABOVE  
 CANCELLED would defend —4 preach] THE FIRST preach ORIGINALLY SPELLED preache BUT CORRECTED. —5 I] INSERTED WITH CARET. my] BLOTTED IN MS, BUT NOT CANCELLED. —9 which . . . . of] (MS w<sup>ch</sup>) ORIGINALLY w<sup>ch</sup> if you please you may reade as I told you —11-12 made mention at all of] ORIGINALLY mov'd me at all in —17 now] INSERTED WITH CARET. grow] FOLLOWED BY A CANCELLED CARET. —18 with it] (MS w<sup>th</sup>) FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED for hi (PROBABLY INCOMPLETE for hi[ndering]) me] ALL, BUT PART OF THE FIRST LETTER, NOW TORN AWAY FROM MS.

## XXXIX. LAWES TO MILTON. 1638.

This letter of Henry Lawes to Milton, which must date shortly before Milton's departure from England in April 1638, was found with his *Commonplace Book*, and the MS is now in the British Museum (MS. Add. 36, 354). It was published by Alfred J. Horwood in his edition of the *Commonplace Book*, 1st issue, 1876, p. xvi; and by Masson, *Life*, rev. ed. 1881, I, p. 736. The MS is badly torn, but the only word lost is that indicated in the address, page 326, line 6, which must have been "By" or "Per." Lawes wrote the article "a" much as if a capital letter, but this has not been reproduced in our text. On the letter Milton scribbled a couplet, to be given more properly in our last volume, but worth quoting here

Fix heere ye overdaled sphears  
 That wing the restless foote of time

## XL. WOTTON TO MILTON. 1638.

Attention should be here called to Wotton's letter to Milton of April 13, 1638, which Milton himself published in his 1645 volume of *Poems*, and which has been reprinted in the

Columbia edition, Vol. I, p. 476f. It is discussed by Masson, *Life*, rev. ed. I, p. 578. It should be noted that the original MS is not known; BM. MS. Add. 28,637 is a transcript of a printed text.

XLII. MILTON TO WHITLOCK. 1651/2.

This original letter, (sealed with the double eagle used on the contract for *Paradise Lost*, but in the hand of the amanuensis) is mentioned in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, 1872, p. 192; but was otherwise not noticed until 1934 when J. Milton French, by permission of the present owner, His Grace the Marquess of Bath, published it in *PMLA* (Vol. XLIX, p. 1070). The hand is that of the letter to Bradshaw (XLIII). By courtesy of His Grace we are able not only to give a text of the letter, but record the variants.

PAGE 326

—10 Safeguard] FOLLOWED BY HEAVILY CANCELLED that [?]. —17 of the English copy] INSERTED WITH CARET. —21-22 Posterity as] FOLLOWED BY well as INSERTED WITH CARET BUT CANCELLED.

XLII. SANDELANDES TO MILTON. (1.) 1652/3.

The two letters of Sandelandes (sometimes spelled Sandelands) seem to have been turned over to the Government by Milton, and are now in the Public Record Office (S. P. Dom. Inter. vol. 23). They were found by Mrs. Everett Green, who communicated them to Masson; he published them, in 1877, in the *Life*, IV, 487-494, where also is given a text of the enclosure addressed to Lilburne referred to in the letters. We reproduce a few curious abbreviations in this letter, and XLIV below. The MS has been docketed "Jan 15."

## PAGE 328

—3 these] PROBABLY ORIGINALLY the —12 disservice] SANDELANDES FIRST WROTE diss- AT THE END OF THE LINE, THEN CANCELLED THE SECOND s AND BEGAN SERVICE ON THE NEXT LINE. —20 the scope of] (ms y<sup>e</sup>) INSERTED WITH CARET. —22 tarre] IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THIS WORD WAS CANCELLED. —27 That] ORIGINALLY DIFFERENT, BUT FIRST FORM NOW ILLEGIBLE.

## PAGE 329

—2 Presbyterorum] THE PENULTIMATE LETTER IS ALTERED.

## XLIII. MILTON TO BRADSHAW. 1652/3.

The original letter in the same hand as No. XLI, [a different amanuensis from those who wrote to Mylius] is in the Public Record Office, (S. P. Dom. Inter. 18/33, p. 75). It was discovered in 1826 by Mr. Lemon, and published soon after by Todd in the 3rd edition of the *Poetical Works*, I, 163f. See also Hamilton, *Milton Papers*, p. 22f., Sotheby, *Ramblings*, p. 130f., and Masson, *Life*, IV, p. 478. On four of the difficult cancelled readings we have been helped by what C. T. Flower, Esq., of the P.R.O. modestly terms his conjectures, but which seem practically sure, in three cases.

## PAGE 329

—19 publick] THE c INSERTED WITH CARET. though it were] INSERTED WITH CARET ABOVE CANCELLED were it —23 due] INSERTED WITH CARET. —26 morrow] BEFORE THIS IS A CANCELLED WORD, EITHER A MALFORMED ATTEMPT AT MORROW (C. T. F.) OR . . . . .d

## PAGE 330

—7 scholler] ORIGINALLY sholler —9 approved] ORIGINALLY approved —14 place] WRITTEN AFTER CANCELLED EARLIER ATTEMPT pl . . . —18 fit] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED as [?].

## XLIV. SANDELANDES TO MILTON. (II.) 1653.

See the notes to XLII above. The second letter is docketed "Edenbr: 29 Martij 1653 And. Sandelands to M<sup>r</sup> Milton touching y<sup>e</sup> E of Argiles Cannons".

## PAGE 331

—12 fourty] ORIGINALLY twenty brazen] INSERTED WITH CARET.  
 —16 weke] PROBABLY FIRST WRITTEN weak —17 humble]  
 ORIGINALLY humbel —20 John] FOLLOWS CANCELLED M!

## XLV. ANDREW MARVELL TO MILTON. 1654.

The whereabouts of this letter is unknown, but an 18th Century transcript is preserved in the British Museum (MS. Add. 4292, no. 120) certified "This is the true and exact Copy of an original Letter from Mr. Marvell superscribed thus" etc., by J. Owen of Rochdale. The letter was printed by Birch in his edition of Milton's *Works, Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous*, 1753, vol. I, p. xl. See Masson's *Life*, IV, p. 620. The hand of the Ayscough MS is not clear on all commas and periods, or capitals. This letter and the next, therefore, must be read with a *caveat*; a few minute changes suggest an effort was made to reproduce the originals *verbatim et litteratim*, but one does not know if the changes were in the originals or are the copyist's attempts to correct his own errors. Our text is from the transcript.

## PAGE 332

—4 tendred] FIRST tenderd [OR VICE VERSA ?].

## PAGE 333

—9 jealousy] MORE PROBABLY THAN THE POSSIBLE zealously  
 —16 forrain] forraine IS THE FIRST READING.

## XLVI. MOSES WALL TO MILTON. 1659.

This letter is also from a copy in the Ayscough MS, (BM. MS. Add. 4292, no. 121,) where it is headed "Mr. Wall's Letter to Mr. Milton." It was first printed in Richard Baron's edition of Milton's *Εἰκονωκλιδστης* London, 1756, p. v-vii; see also Masson's *Life*, V. 602f.

PAGE 335

—4 and] INSERTED WITH CARET.  
LIKE A COMMA IN THE TRANSCRIPT.

—18 THE PARENTHESIS LOOKS

CORRESPONDENCE OF MILTON  
AND MYLIUS

THE following letters were exchanged by Milton and Hermann Mylius, agent for Anthon Gunther, Count of Oldenburg (1603–1668), while drafting a Safe-guard or Treaty of Amity between England and Oldenburg. This document will appear in the thirteenth volume of the edition, as verbally composed by Milton, whose interest in it is also manifested in his letter to Whitlock (XLI). Upon returning to Oldenburg, Mylius deposited in the Archives the seven original letters from Milton, and a *Tagebuch* or *Diarium* containing copies of six of these letters and drafts of fourteen Mylius sent Milton. Our texts are based on photographs of these MSS, and the present Archivist is practically certain that everything now preserved of the correspondence is here published. The gradual printing of these letters may be thus summarized.

In 1673 Milton published as *Epistolæ* 11 a version, probably from a draft of the letter we give in the form sent as LIIa.

In 1877, Professor Alfred Stern of Bern obtained a text of Milton's letter LXIII, communicated by Dr. Goll of Prague, from what must have been an old transcript in Cardinal von Schwartzenburg's collection, (for the original letter was at Oldenburg); and printed it in the London *Academy* of Octo-

ber 13 (xi, 367.) Masson translated this in the *Life*, V, 705 (1877).

Soon after, Stern learned of the *Tagebuch* and examined it, and from the copies therein printed four letters from Milton (L, LV, LVII, and LIX) and six drafts of Mylius' letters (XLIX, LI, LIV, LVI, LX, and LXII) in the *Academy* of July 6, 1878 (xiv, 12). These he reprinted in his *Milton und seine Zeit*, III, 287-297 (Leipzig, 1879) where he added one more Mylius letter (LXI) and a few words from another (LVIII). Masson did not refer to this material.

In 1927 the seven original letters of Milton were found through the then Archivist, the Rev. Geh. H. Goens, in the Landesarchiv Oldenburgs [Aa Grafschaft Oldenburg, Tit. 38, no. 73, fasc. 5] who sought them at the request of the present editors. One letter is in the hand of Edward Phillips, the rest in that of an unidentified amanuensis. The discovery was announced in *The New York Times*, December 31, 1927, and a facsimile of the last letter (LXV) given. A proposed pamphlet publication of the letters was abandoned, but a text of LXV was printed in London *Notes & Queries*, (clix, 208) on September 20, 1930.

The other letters of Mylius were photographed at our request in 1935 by Dr. Hermann Lübbling, to whom the recovery of LII is probably due,—all this material is hitherto unpublished, though Stern apparently refers to all, and surely saw all the letters save LII and LXV. Few who see the documents will doubt that Stern was kept from printing some of the letters by the difficulty of the scrawl in which Mylius wrote

his drafts. The hand is "Italian" not much different in theory from that of a modern Englishman; Mylius' Gothic hand was for German only, not Latin. He usually dotted his *i*, put a tittle over *u*, and used but few scribal contractions; his Latin is high-flown but correct. A glance at the facsimile of LIII will, however, suggest the difficulties encountered, and serve as an apology for the few asterisks which in three letters stigmatise tentative or unsatisfactory readings of puzzling words (or abbreviations) in the MSS. Our translations are necessarily free at these points but otherwise are as exact as possible.

XLVII. Mylius to Milton, 1651. October 21. MS, *Tagebuch*, folios 81–82, presents a careful fair copy of this letter, but with marginal additions in Mylius' usual scribble. The letter is now first printed.

XLVIII. Mylius to Milton, 1651. October 25. MS, *Tagebuch*, folio 88; now first printed.

XLIX. Mylius to Milton, 1651. November 6. MS, *Tagebuch*, folio 96. Published by Stern, *Academy* 1878, and *Milton*, page 289.

L. Milton to Mylius, 1651. November 7. MS at Oldenburg, in the hand of the usual amanuensis, who is not identical with the writer of the English letters XLI and XLIII. There is no trace of earlier letters from Milton mentioned by Mylius in XLVII. This letter was printed by Stern, *Academy*, 1878, and *Milton*, page 289. There are no changes in the MS.

LI. Mylius to Milton, 1651. November 7. MS, *Tagebuch*, folio 97. Published in *Academy*, 1878, and *Milton*, page 290.

LII. Mylius to Milton, 1651. December 17. MS, *Tage-*

*buch*, folio 209 verso. Found bound out of place by Dr. Lüb-  
bing in 1935, now first printed.

LIIa. Milton to Mylius, 1652. January 2. First printed as  
*Epistolæ* 11, by Milton, this letter is given from the copy sent  
Mylius. See above page 386. Stern knew the copy in the *Tage-  
buch*, see his *Milton*, III, 290. Changes in the MS are:

PAGE 352

—18 quæ] INSERTED WITH CARET      ferè] WRITTEN AFTER CAN-  
CELLED ATTEMPT (AT SAME WORD ?)

PAGE 354

—10 expetebas] CORRECTED FROM expectabas      —14 quamprimùm]  
THE THIRD AND FOURTH LETTERS SEEM TO BE CORRECTED      —16  
vocolam] ORIGINALLY AN IMPOSSIBLE FORM volulam      —17 re] FIRST  
BEGUN tec or rei      —19 existimabam] FIRST BEGUN existib      —22  
THE DATE WAS ORIGINALLY ultimo xbris. 1651.

LIII. Mylius to Milton, 1652. January 3. MS, *Tagebuch*,  
folio 128, not previously printed, but discussed by Stern, page  
290. The recto of the MS is photographically reproduced, fac-  
ing page 356 of this volume. From the notes there shown,  
we learn that Milton lent for Mylius' opinion the *Pro Rege et  
Populo Anglicano Apologia, contra Johannis Polypragmatici  
alias Miltoni Angli Defensionem*, a book published anony-  
mously by John Rowland on behalf of Salmasius [See Masson,  
IV, 347, 470, 556]. Mylius (advising against any reply)  
wrote the first draft, but, deeming it too enthusiastic, sent the  
more reservedly cryptic second version next day. The inten-  
tional obscurity, and inflated style make us uncertain of some  
readings. But the portions not transcribed in the text from the  
MS as reproduced are comments of Mylius, in German and  
Latin, not parts of the drafts of the letter.



LIV. Mylius to Milton, 1652. January 8. MS, *Tagebuch*, folio 120 verso; printed by Stern, *Academy*, 1878, and *Milton*, page 291.

LV. Milton to Mylius, 1652. January 8. MS at Oldenburg; printed from *Tagebuch* copy, *Academy*, 1878, and *Milton*, page 291. Changes in the MS are:

PAGE 354

—16 Concinnatam] ORIGINALLY Consignatam —17 perlegendam]  
WRITTEN AFTER UNFINISHED legenda —20 quandoquidem] WRIT-  
TEN OVER CUM

LVI. Mylius to Milton, 1652. January 9. MS, *Tagebuch*, folio 125; printed by Stern [omitting about twenty words] in *Academy* 1878, and *Milton*, page 291.

LVII. Milton to Mylius, 1652. January 20. MS at Oldenburg; Stern printed this from the copy in the *Tagebuch* (which omitted a brief passage which Mylius may have thought indiscreet) in *Academy*, 1878, and *Milton*, page 292. Variants are:

PAGE 356

—21 Concilium] CHANGED FROM Consilium —22 sociis . . .  
amicis] INSERTED IN MARGIN. duntaxat] FIRST WRITTEN WITH  
INITIAL CAPITAL.

PAGE 358

—2 visi] FOLLOWS CANCELLED UNFINISHED susp certis] ORIG-  
INALLY ad certos —4-6 horum . . . iri] PRECEDED BY BRACKET IN  
MS, THIS PORTION WAS NOT COPIED BY MYLIUS IN THE TAGEBUCH, AND  
IS NOW FIRST PUBLISHED. —6 confectum] FOLLOWS CANCELLED  
aut

LVIII. Mylius to Milton, 1652. February 10. MS, *Tagebuch*, folio 136, hitherto unpublished except for two brief extracts in Stern's *Milton*, pages 292-293.

LIX. Milton to Mylius, 1652. February 10. MS at Olden-

burg; published from *Tagebuch* by Stern, *Academy*, 1878, and *Milton*, page 294. The MS has one correction:

PAGE 362

—5 in illo] WRITTEN AFTER CANCELLED et

LX. Mylius to Milton, 1652. February 10. MS, *Tagebuch*, folio 157; published *Academy*, 1878 and Stern's *Milton*, page 294.

LXI. Mylius to Milton, 1652. February 12. MS, *Tagebuch*, folio 161, first printed in 1879 by Stern in his *Milton*, page 295.

LXII. Mylius to Milton, 1652. February 13. MS, *Tagebuch*, folio 162 verso, printed in *Academy* 1878, and *Milton*, page 295.

LXIII. Milton to Mylius, 1652. February 13. MS at Oldenburg, in the hand of Edward Phillips, as is shown by comparison with the facsimile of his writing in Sotheby's *Ramblings*, page 24. Printed by Stern from an old copy, *Academy*, 1877; and from *Tagebuch* transcript in *Milton*, page 295; see also Masson, V, 705. Variants of the MS are:

PAGE 374

—9 attulisti] FOLLOWS CANCELLED ATTEMPT AT THE SAME WORD.  
—11 detentus] FOLLOWS CANCELLED impeditus —12 quemquam]  
FOLLOWS CANCELLED quid

LXIV. Mylius to Milton, 1652. February 21. MS, *Tagebuch*, folio 179, hitherto unpublished.

LXV. Milton to Mylius, 1652. February 21. MS at Oldenburg, not copied in *Tagebuch*, though referred to, discovered by Goens and Mabbott in 1927, facsimile in *The New York*

*Times*, December 31, 1927; text in *Notes & Queries*, September 20, 1930. Variants are:

PAGE 376

—11 ut] ORIGINALLY *legendum ut* —14 Restat] MS LOOKS LIKE  
Restat —18 inserta] INSERTED ABOVE LINE.

LXVI. Mylius to Milton, 1652. February 23. MS, *Tagebuch*, folio 179; hitherto unpublished.

PAGE 278

—5-6 *infantem\* . . . laboris\**] THE SCRIBBLE, BAD EVEN FOR MYLIUS, MAKES EVEN THE GENERAL TENOR UNCERTAIN HERE: *gravidans* SEEMS TO BE USED FOR *gravida* IF CORRECTLY READ.

## NOTES ON LOST LETTERS AND FRAGMENTS

A GOOD many letters of Milton have of course disappeared. From his correspondence already published something may be learned of some of them. He had written short letters to Young, even before *Epistolæ* 1. From Wotton's letter (XL) one learns Milton had written him on April 6, 1638. Sandelands (in XLII) acknowledges a letter of January 3, 1652/3. Two letters of Milton's reached Mylius before October, 20, 1651, when XLVII was written. Wall's letter (XLVI) answered one from Milton, 1659; and Marvell's letter (XLV) refers not only to a communication to the writer, but to a lost letter to Bradshaw from Milton, about May, 1654.

From external sources we know something of several more letters of Milton.

[LXVII–LXVIII.] Milton to [the Prior (?) at] Vallombrosa.

In 1873 Dr. James H. Dixon reported that a few years previously one of the Fathers at Vallombrosa told him that in the Conventual Library were “several letters that Milton addressed to the Convent after his return to England . . . written in the purest Latin” which he was unable to show him, from ignorance of their location, though he was sure they were carefully preserved.

In 1877 C. J. H. recorded that, while residing in Florence a few years before, he “was shown two letters written by Milton to the Convent at Vallombrosa, both in an excellent state of preservation” but he did not know if there were more. Although no record of the contents was made, and the letters seem to have disappeared when the monastery was dissolved, one can hardly doubt that two such documents existed seventy years ago. See *Notes & Queries*, xlvii, 62; lvi, 117. Considerable search in Italian libraries in recent years failed to locate the MSS. The date must be 1638 or later.

[LXIX, LXIXa, etc.] Milton to his wife, 1643.

Edward Phillips [in his notice of Milton in the *Letters of State* 1694, p. xxiii,] tells us of some correspondence in the Autumn of 1643, “Michaelmas being come and no news of his wife’s return, he sent for her by Letter, and receiving no answer sent several other Letters, . . . so that at last he dispatch’d down a Foot-Messenger, with a Letter desiring her return.” To these we are told he received no answer, or at least no satisfactory one. Even if the papers “in Milton’s hand” said by

Todd [*Life*, 1809, page 25] to have been seen by Warton at Forest Hill, the Powell home, could be recovered, which is unlikely, it is more probable that we should find letters to the Powell family on business (perhaps connected with the documents to be given from other sources in Volume XVIII), than that among them these conjugal epistles would be found to have long survived their cold reception.

[LXX.] Milton to Sir Gilbert Pickering, 1653.

In the Order Book of Cromwell's Interim Council of Thirteen, for Saturday, July 9, 1653, is a statement:

"Upon the reading of the letter from Mr. Milton to Sir Gilbert Pickering, it is ordered that Sir Gilbert Pickering be desired to confer with the Doctors mentioned in the said letter, and to know from them what quantity of paper they desire to import free of custom and excise towards the carrying on of their work of a New Translation of the Bible." Masson, in quoting this in his *Life*, IV, 524, suggests the Doctors may have included Owen and Thomas Goodwin. Probably the date of the letter was not much earlier than the entry.

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Among the Political Tracts in this edition (VI, 101f) are given two Letters, (one of October 20, 1659, to an unnamed friend, and one without date to General Monk,) published in the 17th Century from MSS, which were probably actual epistles, sent by Milton, in 1659. Newly discovered material relating to these letters will be dealt with in Volume XVIII.

One assumes, too, that Milton must have written to thank Antonio Malatesti, for the dedication to him of the MS poem, *La Tina*, in 1637. See Masson, I, 786.

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Milton himself often acknowledges letters from others. In *Epistolæ* 27, he refers to Heimbach's of December 18, 1657; and as promised in *Epistolæ* 17, he printed an extract from Spanheim's letter to him, October 14, 1654; and one from Durie's letter of October 3, 1654, in his *Pro se Defensio*. See Masson, V, 172, 204; and the texts of these fragments in this edition, IX, pages 194 f.

And the Anonymous Life [Bodleian MS Wood.D.4, f. 141 recto, printed in the *English Historical Review*, Jan. 1902,] says "Nor did he decline [Protestantism's] defence . . . even in Rome itself . . . though hee had bin advis'd by letters from som friends to Naples, that the English Jesuits design'd to do him mischief on that account," [in 1638 or 1639].

Should any lost or unknown specimens of Milton's correspondence be recovered in time, we hope to insert texts in the last volume of this edition. There also may appear better readings, (if these be found,) for the three or four still unsatisfactorily deciphered sentences in letters of Mylius.

FINIS.



